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Edited by

EDWARD GODFREY COX

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Direct Contributions and Business Correspondence to
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ON CERTAIN "ALLITERATIVE" AND "POETIC" WORDS IN THE POEMS ATTRIBUTED TO "THE GAWAIN-POET"

By JOHN W. CLARK

Attempts to prove the common authorship of the four poems in MS Cotton Nero A. x, and *Erkenwald*, on the basis of their vocabularies generally, have clearly failed;¹ and that failure has been proclaimed by no one more emphatically than by some of the principal advocates of the theory of common authorship themselves.² But an opening has been left for studies of certain special aspects of the vocabularies; and that opening has been seen by the indefatigable J. P. Oakden, who, in the second volume of his valuable *Alliterative Poetry in Middle English*,³ investigates three of these special aspects: (1) "Chiefly alliterative" words (by which Oakden means not words that usually alliterate, but words "found but rarely or even not at all, outside the alliterative poems"); (2) "synonyms for *man*, *knight*"; and (3) "synonyms to express movement." In these investigations, Oakden is, to be sure, mainly interested in the contribution they may make to the establishment of his thesis about the continuity of the alliterative tradition; it is only by the way and more or less by implication that he draws any conclusions from them about the authorship of the poems investigated —either our five, or others. But a consideration of his findings will, I think, arouse suspicions as to the validity of the theory of common authorship of the five poems.

I. CHIEFLY ALLITERATIVE WORDS

"Any reader of Middle English alliterative poetry," says Oakden, "is aware that the texts before him abound in words not generally found elsewhere. The impression gained is probably a little misleading, for while the facts which here follow indicate the great extent to which this is true, it is surprising how frequently the average reader may be misled."⁴ (I take this to mean that the "chiefly alliterative" words here referred to are as a matter of fact only chiefly, not exclusively, alliterative.) Oakden proceeds: "In this section the poems are arranged in more or less chronological groups based on similarity of

¹ Moritz Trautmann, *Ueber Verfasser und Entstehungszeit einiger Alliterierender Gedichte des Altenenglischen* (Halle, 1876); "Der Dichter Huchown und seine Werke," *Anglia*, I (1877), 109-49; crit. of Carl Horstmann, ed., *Altenenglische Legenden (Neue Folge)*, in *Anglia Anzeiger*, V (1884), 23-25; Max Kullnick, *Studien über den Wortschatz in Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knyg* (Berlin, 1902).

² Henry L. Savage, ed., *St. Erkenwald* (New Haven, 1926), pp. liv-lv, 38; Robert J. Menner, ed., *Purity* (New Haven, 1920), p. xiii.

³ Publications of the University of Manchester, CCXXXVI, English Series No. XXII (Manchester, 1935).

⁴ *Alliterative Poetry in Middle English*, II, 175-76.

outlook. . . . In this way it is hoped that differences within and among the groups may stand out clearly."⁶ This is followed by lists of "chiefly alliterative" words found in the following "more or less chronological groups":⁷ A. The Early Romances (*Alex. A, Alex. B, William of Palerne, Joseph of Arimathie, Chevelere Assigne*); B. Satire and Allegory (*Winner and Waster, The Parlement of the Thre Ages*); C. The five poems with which this paper is concerned; D. The Later Romances (*Destruction of Jerusalem, Morte Arthure, Destruction of Troy, Wars of Alex. (Alex. C)*); E. The Rhyming Alliterative Works; F. The Later Alliterative Works.

Now the effect of this grouping of poems is to convey the impression of some kind of intimate interrelation among the members of any group, and, in the case of "the *Gawain* group," to give silent and not clearly legitimate support to the theory of common authorship. Oakden's list of "chiefly alliterative" words in the five poems of that group contains 53 words;⁷ and one's first impulse is to think of these 53 words as constituting an additional reason for believing in common authorship, though, to be sure, Oakden does not expressly attribute that force to them. A little consideration of the list will show that it proves nothing at all. In the first place, 27 of the words occur in earlier poems; their occurrence in two or more of our five poems is therefore not at all suggestive of common authorship, since each of the authors, supposing there were more than one, could demonstrably have used the words independently. Several others, again, as will be shown below, are used in certainly or probably different ways in two or more of the five poems; so far are they from being suggestive of common authorship that they are suggestive of diverse authorship. Again, if we assume *Purity* and *Patience* to be by the same author (and certainly in most respects they are much more like each other than either is like *Pearl*, *Gawain*, or *Erkenwald*), we may discount all words appearing only in *Pur.* and *Pat.* The result of this series of subtractions is to leave us with just twelve words which are (a) absent from earlier poems, and (b) present, in the same senses, in (i) *Pur.* or *Pat.* or both, and (ii) *Gaw.* or *Pearl* or *Erk.* or any two or all three. Twelve is obviously a much less imposing number than 53. And even these twelve, it must be realized, do not all appear in all five poems, but are distributed as follows:

In <i>Pur.</i> or <i>Pat.</i> or both and also in <i>Pearl, Gaw.</i> , and <i>Erk.</i>	1
In <i>Pur.</i> or <i>Pat.</i> or both and also in <i>Pearl</i> and <i>Gaw.</i> (but not <i>Erk.</i>)	1
In <i>Pur.</i> or <i>Pat.</i> or both and also in <i>Pearl</i> and <i>Erk.</i> (but not <i>Gaw.</i>)	1
In <i>Pur.</i> or <i>Pat.</i> or both and also in <i>Gaw.</i> and <i>Erk.</i> (but not <i>Pearl</i>)	1
In <i>Pur.</i> or <i>Pat.</i> or both and also in <i>Pearl</i> (but not <i>Gaw.</i> or <i>Erk.</i>)	3

⁶ *Alliterative Poetry in Middle English*, II, 176.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 176-83.

⁷ It ought to be 54; Oakden omits *bro*, which he includes in the list of "chiefly alliterative" words in *William of Palerne*, one of the poems in his "Group A." See Oakden, *op. cit.*, II, 176.

In <i>Pur.</i> or <i>Pat.</i> or both and also in <i>Gaw.</i> (but not <i>Pearl</i> or <i>Erk.</i>) 4
In <i>Pur.</i> or <i>Pat.</i> or both and also in <i>Erk.</i> (but not <i>Pearl</i> or <i>Gaw.</i>) 1

The effect of this analysis is greatly to reduce the weight added, by Oakden's list of 53 words, to the opinion that we are dealing with five poems by a single author. And when we consider further (a) that the author or authors of *Pearl*, *Gaw.*, and *Erk.* seem to have been acquainted with *Pat.* and *Pur.*, or at least with *Pur.*, and (b) that almost certainly some of the twelve words were used in earlier poems which have disappeared, but which were known to the authors of *Pearl*, *Gaw.*, and *Erk.*, the list becomes still less impressive. Besides, it is well known that many of the "chiefly alliterative" words that first occur (so far as we know) in the five poems occur later in other poems, probably as a result of imitation of the five poems; why may not imitation account as well for their appearance in *Pearl*, *Gaw.*, and *Erk.*?

But the main feature of interest in this list of 53 "chiefly alliterative" words in the five poems is not the shrunken proportions to which analysis reduces it; it is rather the occurrence in it of certain words that may well be "chiefly alliterative," as Oakden says, but that prove to be used, in the several poems, in ways so different as to cast additional doubt on the theory of common authorship, by suggesting that what we have here is not the same author using a word in the same way, or even in different ways, but two or more authors, one of whom is either writing quite independently of the other, or else misunderstanding him. These words are discussed below.

(1) *douth, douþe*. Oakden properly lists this as a chiefly alliterative word occurring in *Pur.*, *Gaw.*, *Pearl*, and earlier alliterative poems. The single occurrence in *Pearl* is, according to Gollancz,⁸ used in the sense "doughty man," rather than in the normal sense, "troop, assembly." I think that Gollancz is wrong, and that the word has its usual sense; but the point is not worth arguing here. The interesting thing is what seems to me to be a difference between its sense in *Gaw.* and its sense in *Pur.* In *Gaw.* it occurs five times, invariably in the sense "(assembled) company of (noble) guests." In *Pur.* it occurs four times—never in quite that sense, and only once in nearly that sense. The instances are as follows:

Pur. 270: . . . þe fende loked
How þe dester of þe douþe wern derelych fayre.
(This is clearly derived from Genesis 6:2: "Videntes
filii Dei filias hominum quod essent pulchrae," etc.)

Pur. 597: Bot of þe dome of þe douþe for dedez of schame—
He is so skoymos of þat skaþe, he scarrez bylyve.
(Here, as above, *douþe* clearly means "the race of man.")

⁸ Sir Israel Gollancz, ed., *Pearl*, rev. ed. (London, 1921), p. 189. I seem to have at least the partial support of Osgood: "douth, n., people, or perhaps creature, rendering 'creataram,' Apoc. 5.13." Charles G. Osgood, ed., *The Pearl* (Boston, 1906), p. 127.

Pur. 1196: *þe hote hunger wythinne hert hem wel sarre*
þen any dunt of þat douth þat dowelled þeroute.
 (Here *douth* clearly means "besieging army.")

Pur. 1367: *Uche duk wyl his duthe and oþer dere lordes*
Schulde com to his cort to kyþe him for lege.
 (Here *duthe* clearly means "retainers, followers.")

In all these lines, "men" (in various senses) would be a perfectly satisfactory rendering of *douþe*. That is never true in *Gaw*. It seems to me that behind these different usages there is a fundamental difference in *Sprachgefühl*.

(2) *mansed*.

Pur. 774: *He syttes þer in Sodomis, þy servaunt so povere,*
Amonge þo mansed men þat han þe much greved.

Gaw. 2345: *Fyrst I mansed þe murly with a mynt one.*

Oakden notes the difference in meaning; but he takes the words to be identical in origin. This opinion not only is not plausible, but is not shared, apparently, by the editors. The word in *Pur.* is, by Menner, derived from, or rather compared with, OE *ðmánsod* (meaning "cursed"); *mansed* in *Gaw.* is, by Tolkien and Gordon (and by Gollancz), derived from OF *manecier*, "threaten, menace." Oakden has, furthermore, overlooked another instance of *mansed* from *ðmánsod*—in *Pat.* 82:

Pis is a mervayl message a man for to preche,
Amonge enmyes so mony & mansed fendes.

Here is another instance of an argument for common authorship not only losing its force, but actually turning into an argument for diverse authorship (of *Gaw.*, and either *Pur.* or *Pat.*, that is—not, of course, *Pur.* and *Pat.*). I will not say it is unthinkable that the same author could use these two words (or what he might take for two senses of the same word); but it seems to me rather unlikely.

(3) *þryvande*, a.; *þryvandely*, adv. The adj. occurs, as Oakden says,⁹ in *Gaw.* 1980 and *Pur.* 751, and the adv. in *Gaw.* 1080 and 1380 and *Erk.* 47. But Oakden does not say that the instance in *Pur.* is unlike all the instances in *Gaw.* in meaning "worthy"—"What if þretty þryvande be þrad in ȝon tounes." In *Gaw.* the word is always used with *þonk*, and clearly always means "abundant, hearty; abundantly, heartily." In *Erk.* the meaning is "excellently"—i.e., very close to the meaning in *Pur.*:

Hit was a throghe of thykke ston, þryvandly hewen,
 With gargeles garnysh aboute, alle of gray marbre.

So far as this suggests any conclusion at all, it suggests that the author of *Gaw.* was not the author of *Erk.*

⁹ *Alliterative Poetry in Middle English*, II, 180.

Here, then, are three words brought forward by Oakden in such a way as to suggest that their employment in those of the five poems in which they occur is significant of, or at least closely in accord with the belief in, common authorship; and yet an inspection that goes beyond the glossaries and extends to the words in their contexts suggests an exactly opposite view. Incidentally, a similar inspection of other loci cited by Oakden in this list forces one to the conclusion that the list as a whole is the result of a somewhat hasty and superficial gleaning.¹⁰

II. POETIC WORDS

Under the heading "Poetic Words," Oakden says: "Much of the alliterative vocabulary [i.e., the vocabulary of alliterative poems] is 'poetic' in the sense that it is essentially different from that of ordinary prose texts. There is a large number of words entirely confined to poetry, including practically all the 'chiefly alliterative' words. Furthermore, many of these words have a distinct poetical value, and belong essentially to poetry."

"Prominent among these poetic words are the synonyms for *man*, *knight*. In addition to the alliterative forms—*habel*, *lede*, *renk*, *schalk*, *segge*, *tulke*, *wy*[*z*—there are the non-alliterative but poetic synonyms *berne*, O.E. *beorn*; *freke*, O.E. *freca*; *gome*, O.E. *guma*."¹¹ All

¹⁰ Following are several cases in point. *burde*, n., "lady." Oakden has misread Bateson's (?) glossary (Hartley Bateson, ed., *Patience*, 2nd ed. [London, 1918]); the instances he (Oakden) gives from *Pat.* of *burde*, "lady," are instances of *burde*, v. pret., "behoved." There is apparently only one instance in *Pat.* of *burde*, "lady," viz., in *Pat.* 388. (Incidentally, Oakden apparently ought to have counted one more instance of this word in *Gaw*, viz., line 1954; see Helge Kökeritz, "Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, 1954," *MLN*, LVIII [1943], 373.) Again, Oakden has inadvertently omitted from his list the instances in *Pur.* of *carpe*, n. (*Pur.* 23, 1327), and given only the instances of the verb (*Pur.* 74, 1591), whereas for the other poems he gives both noun and verb. Thirdly, in citing the supposed instances, in *Erk.*, of *note*, n., from OE *notu*, Oakden has either misread the glossaries, or silently "corrected" them. The form *note* occurs four times in *Erk.*—at lines 38, 101, 133, and 152. Gollancz (Sir Israel Gollancz, ed., *St. Erkenwald* [London, 1922]) regards it as the native word in lines 38, 101, and 152, and as a borrowing from OF *note* in line 133. Savage calls it native in line 38 only, and OF in lines 101, 133, and 152. Oakden, finally, lists only lines 133 and 152 as containing the native word; if silence means anything, he must think that lines 38 and 101 have the OF word. The distribution of etymologies, then, is as follows:

	GOLLANCZ	SAVAGE	OAKDEN
38	OE	OE	OF
101	OE	OF	OF
133	OF	OF	OE
152	OE	OF	OE

Gollancz and Savage agree twice; Gollancz and Oakden agree once; Savage and Oakden agree once; all three scholars *never* agree. It makes no immediate difference who is right, or whether anybody is right; the point is that neither Oakden nor anyone else really knows (and probably the author or authors of the poems did not know) how often this allegedly "chiefly alliterative" word from OE *notu* appears in the five poems. Finally, Oakden gives *swyed*, *Pur.* 87, as being the same word as *swe(y)*, *Pur.* 788, 956; but both Menner and Gollancz (the two recent editors of the poem) call it (no doubt correctly) the past tense of *swe*.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, II, 183.

these words occur in one or another of the five poems. Does their distribution throw any light on the question of the authorship of the poems? In my opinion it does. The distribution is shown in the following table. (A single asterisk indicates a query as to the completeness of the glossarial record; two asterisks indicate that the glossarial record is known to be incomplete.)

	<i>Pat.</i>	<i>Pur.</i>	<i>Gaw.</i>	<i>Pearl</i>	<i>Erk.</i>
hapel	2*	8	13*	1	1
lede	6*	23*	22*	1	4
renk	5*	8**	9*	0	3
schalk	1*	2	7	0	0
segge	2*	11	13*	0	4**
tulke	0	7	8	0	1
wy(5)e	5*	23	21*	5	3
berne	3*	23	16*	4	0
freke	3*	17	8*	0	2
gome	2*	6	5*	2	0

It will be observed that the glossarial record for *Pat.* is always possibly incomplete and that for *Gaw.* usually so.¹² It is therefore impossible to speak with assurance about the frequency of these words in those poems. But a number of observations can be made. The first thing to be observed is the rarity of these words in *Pearl*, which has thirteen instances divided among five words (and nine of them divided between two words)—that is, about one every 665 words. The explanation is very possibly that *Pearl* is not a regularly alliterative poem, and that hence it not unnaturally makes smaller use of "chiefly alliterative" words; and yet eleven of the thirteen instances of these words in *Pearl* do alliterate (and of the remaining two, one rhymes). Whatever may be true of *Pearl*, no such explanation holds with *Erk.*, which has, certainly, not many more than eighteen instances of these words

¹² Incomplete glossaries of all kinds are very inconvenient in a study of this sort; but some kinds are inconvenient to the point of exasperation. Examples are the glossaries of both recent editions of *Pat.*—Bateson's and Gollancz's. Neither editor warns the reader that the glossary is incomplete; and all one can do, after discovering the incompleteness, is to piece out one glossary with the other, and hope that the result is a nearly complete record. Nothing like assurance, however, is attainable. The glossary in Tolkien and Gordon's edition of *Gaw.*, on the other hand, though often incomplete, is never so without express warning, so that when working with this glossary we at least know where we are. The same is true of Menner's glossary to *Pur.*, Gollancz's to *Pearl*, and Savage's to *Erk.*, all of which give warning of incompleteness, and all of which, incidentally, are incomplete at fewer points than Tolkien and Gordon's; but Gollancz's glossaries to *Pur.*, *Erk.*, and *Gaw.* are like the glossaries to *Pat.* It is interesting that Menner, in his review (*MLN*, L [1935], 336-38) of the second volume (i.e., the glossary) of Gollancz's edition of *Pur.*, deplores the incompleteness of that glossary from the point of view of "a student of the poet's usage or characteristic mannerisms as bearing on the problem of authorship." It is most refreshing to me to discover that Menner, who fifteen years before was talking about the parallel passages between *Pur.* and *Gaw.* as constituting "indubitable proof" (see Menner, ed., *Purity*, p. xiv) of common authorship, has apparently come not only to doubt common authorship, but also to doubt it on what seem to be exactly the same grounds as underlie my own doubts and as have led to the writing of this paper.

(divided among seven words), or about one every 190 words. When we turn to *Pur.*, we find these words to be considerably more common—counting the glossed instances, they occur about once every 135 words. (The comparison is not unfair, and probably, in fact, makes the difference seem less than it is; the glossarial record for *Erk.* is incomplete for only one word, whereas for *Pur.* it is incomplete, apparently, for two.) A further difference between *Pur.* and *Erk.* is that *berne*, one of the three of these words appearing with greatest frequency in *Pur.*, occurs in *Erk.* not at all; and yet another is that the most frequent of these words in *Erk.* (*segge*) is among the least frequent (a poor fifth) in *Pur.*

The incompleteness of the glossaries to both recent editions of *Gaw.* is regrettable, and must necessarily prevent our making any very positive statements about either the relative or the absolute frequency of these words in that poem. Tolkien and Gordon's glossary enters 85 instances of the ten words, and Gollancz's enters 97, of which 60 are duplicates; by putting the two glossaries together we have records of 122 instances. There is, however, no assurance that the glossarial record is complete, or even that the figures represent with a tolerable degree of accuracy the comparative frequency with which the words occur. The length of *Gaw.* being to the length of *Pur.* approximately as 43 to 35, and *Pur.* having 128 glossed instances of the words in question, one would expect *Gaw., ceteris paribus*, to have about 160; and the incompleteness of the glossaries prevents us from saying with confidence that it has not so many. But suppose it has; suppose it has even more. It also unquestionably has seventeen instances of a total of eleven adjectives (e.g., *semly*, *noble*) used substantively as substitutes for *hafel*, *lede*, etc., whereas *Pur.* has *no single instance* of this ornament of style. It seems to me very strange, if *Gaw.* and *Pur.* are by the same author, that *Gaw.*, in which nouns meaning "man, knight" are perhaps less common and certainly not much commoner than in *Pur.*, should make such frequent use of a resource of elegant variation of which *Pur.* shows not one example.¹³

III. SYNONYMS TO EXPRESS MOVEMENT

Under the heading "Poetic Words," Oakden presents a number of "synonyms to express movement"—27 in all, of which he distinguishes nine as "definitely poetic."¹⁴ From studying this list, can we find any additional evidence for or against the common authorship of the five poems? My first step has been to construct the expanded list that follows, in which synonyms (poetic or not) found in *Pur.*¹⁵ but not mentioned by Oakden in the list referred to above are included without special mark; words given by him as not "definitely poetic"

¹³ See Oakden, *op. cit.*, II, 294 ff. See also my article "The *Gawain*-Poet" and the Substantival Adjective," *JEGP*, XLIX (1950), 60-66.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, II, 183-84.

¹⁵ I have used *Pur.* as the basis of my additions to this list because I happen, at an early stage of my research, to have made a careful study of synonyms in

are marked *; and words distinguished by him as "definitely poetic" are marked **. The second figure, when there is a second, indicates the number of times the word occurs in other senses than "go." The glossaries are complete except where "x" occurs under *Gaw.*, and possibly also for *Pat.* generally—here, as with the synonyms of "man, knight," I have pieced out Bateson with Gollancz, and can hope for nothing more than an approach to the truth. All the zeros under *Pat.*, however, are probably right; neither Gollancz nor Bateson, apparently, leaves words completely unnoticed in his glossary except by accident. An asterisk following a number in the last column is meant as a reference to the corresponding series of notes immediately following the list. These notes, it will be discovered, are for the most part devoted to calling attention to differences exhibited by the five poems in the employment of some of these synonyms of "go"—differences many of which have struck me as at least as suggestive of diverse authorship as the statistics generally may be of common authorship.

	<i>Pat.</i>	<i>Pur.</i>	<i>Gaw.</i>	<i>Pearl</i>	<i>Erk.</i>
boumet (pret.) (v. refl.)	0	1	0	0	0
**bowe, boȝe	0-3	15-1	x(9+)	3	1-1
**cayre	0	2-3	5	1	0*
chess (to)	0	0-1	3-9	0-4	0
*fare	1	6-2	7-1	2-1	0
**ferke	0-1	1-1	4-1	0	0*
*founde	1	2	5	0	0
**glyde	3	6	3	2	0
go, ȝede	7	10	21	12	1
helde	0	2-2	4-4	0	1-1
meve	0	1-1	3-4	0-2	0
passee	2	9-2	x(7+)-3	1-5	4-1
*rayke (v. i. and refl.)	2	2-1	4	1	1
reche (to)	0	4-6	0-11	0	0-3
**schake	0	0	0	0	0
*seche (to)	0-5	6-11	3-7	0-3	0-2
smolt	0	1-1	0	0	0
spryng	1	1	2	2-2	1
*strake	0	0	0	0	0
strecche	0	1	0	1-1	0
**strike	0	0	1-4	3-1	0
swey	1-2	1-1	1-1	0	0
syle	0	1	0	0	0
tee	2	2	0	0	0
torne	0-2	1-2	3-3	0	0-2
**tryne	2	2	0	0	0
tyst (v. refl.)	0	1(?)	0	2	0*
**wade	0	0	0-2	0-2	0
*walk	0	2	2	3	0
**wawe	0	0	0	0	0
*wende	1-1	7	x(13+)-1	5	1
wynde	0	1	1-1	0	0
*wynne (to) (v. i.)	0-2	6-8	7-x	2-4	0-1

that poem, and consequently have the information at hand. I abandoned the study before I had carried it beyond *Pur.*

(1) *cayre*. In *Pur.*, *Gaw.*, and *Pearl*. In *Gaw.* this word always clearly means "travel (on horseback)"; but in *Pur.* it is used oddly and variously, so as almost to suggest that the author may not have perfectly understood it. Twice it means "come" or "go": *Pur.* 85: "Pen þay cayred and com bat þe cost waked"; *Pur.* 901: "Cayre tid of þis kythe er combred þou worþe." Once it means "return": *Pur.* 945: "And þay kayre ne con and kenely floweren." Once it means "pull" (v. i.): *Pur.* 1259: "Boþe to cayre at þe kart and þe kuy mylke." Once it means "pull" (v. t.): *Pur.* 1478: "þe candelstik bi a cost [i.e., a contrivance] watȝ cayred þider sone." (Menner remarks, ed. *Pur.*, p. 132, that here the word is "perhaps confused with *carie*.") Altogether, the singleness and definiteness of meaning in *Gaw.*, contrasted with the multiplicity and vagueness of meaning in *Pur.*, seems to me very odd indeed if the two poems are by a single author. The meaning of the single instance in *Pearl* is much closer to the meaning in *Gaw.*; *Pearl* 1029-31 read as follows:

Penne helde uch sware of þis manayre
Twelve [þowsande] forlonge er ever hit fon,
Of hest, of brede, of lemþe, to cayre.

The meaning and construction of *to cayre* here are no doubt given correctly by Gollancz in his note (ed. *Pearl* [1921], p. 167): "*to cayre*, i.e., in the traversing (gerundial inf.), in the going from point to point." The only instance in *Pur.* that comes close to meaning specifically "travel" (and even then it does not mean specifically "travel on horseback," as it always does in *Gaw.*) is that in line 901; and there the meaning is probably rather "flee." In *Pur.* 85 it is nothing but an alliterative redundancy.

(2) *chese*. In *Pur.*, *Gaw.*, and *Pearl*, but only in *Gaw.* in the sense "go." Not only does this word never occur in *Pur.* in the sense "go," but it occurs there only once in any sense at all, whereas it occurs in *Gaw.* no fewer than twelve times, including three times in the sense "go," and twice in the phrase *chese the way* (or *gate*), "take the road, pursue the path," which I suppose is a midstage in meaning and construction between the normal and the special senses ("choose" and "go").

(3) *ferke*. In *Pat.*, *Pur.*, and *Gaw.*. Note the frequency as a synonym of "go" in *Gaw.* alone. Incidentally, the single instance of the word in *Pat.* and the single instances not meaning "go" in *Pur.* and *Gaw.* are all followed by the adv. *up* and mean "get up, stir oneself." But in *Pat.* and *Pur.* this phrase is intransitive; in *Gaw.* it is reflexive.

(4) *tygt*. Such a form occurs in *Pur.*, *Gaw.*, and *Pearl*, but how often it is a word meaning "go" is doubtful. Menner enters two distinct words in his glossary—one for *Pur.* 889:

Penne uch tolke *tygt* hem þat hade of tayt fayled,
And uch on roþeþ to þe rest þat he reche most.

This word Menner glosses as "betook (himself)," and in this interpretation he is supported by Gollancz (ed. *Pur.*, p. 91). Both editors derive this word from OE *tyhtan*. The other word (if it is another word) in *Pur.* is that which occurs in *Pur.* 1108 and 1153, the etymology of which Menner says is "obscure." In *Pur.* 1108 Menner seems to be right in interpreting the word as either "endeavor" or "succeed"—the poet says that Christ could break bread more cleanly "þenne alle þe toles of Towlowse most *tyȝt* hit to kerve." In *Pur.* 1153 Menner glosses *tyȝt* as "set, give" ("assign" would perhaps be better): "5if ȝe wolde *tyȝt* me a tom, telle hit I wolde." I wonder whether in all these places we might not understand some such meaning as "provide, avail, contrive." This would allow us to take all three as instances of the same word. It would, of course, involve supposing that *hem* in *Pur.* 889 is dative instead of accusative; but I see no difficulty in that. In *Gaw.*, *tyȝt* occurs three times, and is glossed by Tolkien and Gordon as a single word, which they derive from OE *tyhtan*, adding that the meaning in ME is "infl. by *dihtan*." *Gaw.* 2483 reads: "þat I ne *tyȝt* at þis tyme in tale to remene"; and *tyȝt* here is glossed "intend," though "arrange" is given as the primary meaning of the word (which would agree with my suggestion above as to the primary meaning of the word in *Pur.*). In *Gaw.* 568—"Tapiteȝ *tyȝt* to þe woȝe of tuly and tars"—*tyȝt* is again contextually glossed, this time as "hung"—and here again, of course, "arrange(d)" will do.¹⁶ Two words spelled so occur in *Pearl*. For one of them, in lieu of an etymology, Gollancz says, "(?) cp. OE *dihtan*, to compose." For the meaning in both places where this word occurs, Gollancz gives "describe." *Pearl* 1013 reads: "þe crysopase þe tenþe is *tyȝt*." "Described" is a possible contextual definition; but so is "arranged," or the like. Exactly the same thing may be said of the word in *Pearl* 1053: "As John þe apostel in termeȝ *tyȝte*." The other word occurs twice also, in *Pearl* 503 and 718, where it clearly means "go" (or rather, as it happens, "come"). For this word Gollancz gives the source as OE *tyhtan*. It seems to me that these last two are the only clear instances in the five poems of *tyȝt* meaning "go" or the like, and, accordingly, that Oakden is wrong in saying that a word having this form occurs in that sense in *Pur.* or *Gaw.*

Of these 33 words, four occur (in the sense "go"—the same limitation applies until further notice) in none of the five poems; one (*chese*) occurs in *Gaw.* only; one (*tyȝt*) in *Pearl* only; four (*bounet*, *reche*, *smolt*, *style*) in *Pur.* only; one (*streche*) in *Pur.* and *Pearl* only; one (*strike*) in *Gaw.* and *Pearl* only; two (*tee*, *tryne*) in *Pat.* and *Pur.* only; five (*ferke*, *meve*, *seche*, *torne*, *wynde*) in *Pur.* and *Gaw.* only;

¹⁶ Gollancz, on the other hand, calls the word in *Gaw.* 2483 distinct from that in 568 and 858.

two (*founde, swey*) in *Pat.*, *Pur.*, and *Gaw.*; three (*cayre, walk, wynne*) in *Pur.*, *Gaw.*, and *Pearl*; one (*helde*) in *Pur.*, *Gaw.*, and *Erk.*; one (*bowe*) in all but *Pat.*; two (*fare, glyde*) in all but *Erk.*; and five (*go, passe, rayke, spryng, wende*) in all five poems. There is certainly nothing very striking here, though I think it might be pointed out that the occurrence in *Pur.* of seven of these words (meaning either "go" or something else or both) that are missing from *Gaw.* (whereas only two of them not in *Pur.* are in *Gaw.*, and only one of those in the sense "go") is at least as odd (if the two poems are by a single author) as the fact that five of the words occur only in those two poems (among the five we are concerned with). *Pur.* and *Gaw.* are by far the longest of the five; whether all five are by a single author or not, we should expect, *ceteris paribus*, that the longest poems should show the closest correspondence in vocabulary.

Let us consider these 33 words from yet another point of view. How many of them are used to express (a) "go," (b) only "go," (c) other senses, (d) only other senses, and (e) both "go" and other senses? The table below will answer that question.

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
<i>Pat.</i>	11	9	7	5	2
<i>Pur.</i>	26	12	15	1	14
<i>Gaw.</i>	21	8	15	2	13
<i>Pearl</i>	14	8	10	4	6
<i>Erk.</i>	7	4	7	4	3

Supposing that the occasion to express the idea of movement arises with roughly equal frequency in all five poems, and that, generally speaking, the longer the poem, the more words will be used to express the idea, we find that most of these figures are about what we should expect—*Erk.*, the shortest poem, uses fewest words; *Pat.*, the next shortest, uses somewhat more than *Erk.*; and *Pearl*, which is longer than *Pat.*, uses more words than *Pat.* Again, *Pur.* and *Gaw.*, which are both longer than *Pearl*, use more words than *Pearl*; but *Gaw.*, oddly enough, uses fewer of these words (in the sense "go," either exclusively or not) than *Pur.*, not more—and yet it is considerably the longer of the two poems. This seems odd if the two poems are by a single author.

The objection will naturally suggest itself that possibly *Pur.*, for one reason or another, after all does present more frequent occasion than *Gaw.* for expressing the idea of movement; but an answer to the objection immediately presents itself. If we discount the figures (for both *Pur.* and *Gaw.*) for those of the 33 words that appear to be incompletely glossed (*bowe, passe, wende*), we find that the remaining 30 synonyms (or rather certain of them) are used to express movement 79 times in *Gaw.* as against only 61 in *Pur.* In other words, the idea of movement appears to be expressed absolutely oftener and proportionately no less often in *Gaw.* than in *Pur.*—and by fewer words.

As far as the expression of movement is concerned, *Pur.* is considerably more given to "elegant variation" than *Gaw.*; *Pur.* uses each of its 23 words (of the 30 completely glossed for *Gaw.*) an average of about 2.6 times, whereas the average for the 18 completely glossed words in *Gaw.* is about 4.3.

These averages are, I will admit, a little deceptive. The real (or at least the chief) explanation of the difference is to be found in the use of *go*, *gede*, in the two poems, *Gaw.* using it 21 times (nearly a fourth of the time) as against only ten instances of its use (less than a sixth of the time) in *Pur.* But this is so far from lessening that it actually heightens the truth of the statement above that *Pur.* tends to express the idea of movement in more various ways than *Gaw.* Incidentally, *go*, *gede*, is (apparently) the most common of the completely glossed words in all the poems (even in *Pur.*) except *Erk.*, where it occurs only once, and where *passe* (which occurs there four times) is the only one of the 33 synonyms occurring there more than once. *Erk.* is very short, and I should therefore hesitate to lay much stress on this difference between it and the other four poems; but if *Erk.* is indeed by the same author as any of the rest of the four poems, the difference seems a little odd.¹⁷ By and large, I think it is reasonable to say that though the employment of these words in the five poems of course does not disprove the common authorship of all five, it does lend additional weight to doubt of it, especially and at least of the common authorship of *Pur.* and *Gaw.*

University of Minnesota

¹⁷ I refrain from extending my speculations about these words to *Pat.* because of the incompleteness of the glossaries, and to *Pearl* because it is not a regularly alliterative poem.

BACON'S INFLUENCE ON SPRAT'S HISTORY OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY

By H. FISCH and H. W. JONES

The general indebtedness of any apology for science in the seventeenth century to the pioneer work of Bacon can be assumed;¹ the intention of this paper is to exhibit one example of this indebtedness in which the influence of Bacon, in particular of the first volume of his *Advancement of Learning*, is so precise that it helps us to determine with some exactness the similarities and differences between Bacon's position and that of a representative writer of the later seventeenth century.

Thomas Sprat's *History of the Royal Society*² was published with a Prefatory Ode by Cowley in which, after a Pindaric eulogy upon Bacon,³ he calls upon the Royal Society to occupy "These spacious Countries but discover'd yet," which Bacon had glimpsed "From the Mountain's Top of his exalted Wit."⁴ Sprat himself says of Bacon in Part I, Section XVI of his work that "if my desires could have prevailed with some excellent Friends of mine, who engag'd me to this Work, there should have been no other Preface to the *History of the Royal Society*, but some of his Writings." Bacon's actual plan for the establishment of just such an institution as the Royal Society⁵ certainly entitled him to that kind of prominence in the first History of the Society. The dedications to the respective reigning monarchs of both the *Advancement* and the *History of the Royal Society*, more-

¹ The works of Boyle and Wallis may be cited as examples. Cf. Irvine O. Masson, *Three Centuries of Chemistry* (New York, 1925), pp. 27, 34. The general debt of Sprat to Bacon, which we illustrate by examples, was noted by R. F. Jones in *Ancients and Moderns* (Washington, 1936). It has also been briefly discussed by L. C. Knights in his essay "Bacon and the Dissociation of Sensibility," *Explorations* (London, 1946).

² Begun in 1663 or 1664 and interrupted by the Plague when Part II, Section XX had been reached; resumed and completed in 1667. All quotations from the fourth edition, 1734.

³ It is strange to find Cowley writing:

From Words, which are but Pictures of the Thought,
(Though we our Thoughts from them perversly drew)
To Things, the Mind's right Object, he it brought.
(Sig. a2^r)

⁴ *Ibid.*, sig. a2^v.

⁵ "The last defect [in "the works or acts of merit towards learning"] which I will note is, that there hath not been, or very rarely been, any public designation of writers or inquirers concerning such parts of knowledge as may appear not to have been already sufficiently laboured or undertaken." *Advancement of Learning*, Book II, in *Works*, ed. Spedding, Ellis, and Heath (London, 1857), III, 327. Cf. also Spedding's remark: "The end which he was pursuing lay still far before him, and his great anxiety was to bequeath the pursuit to a second generation, which should start fresh from the point where he was obliged to leave it." *Ibid.*, p. 171.

over, link them together as successive, formal solicitings of royal favor for the empirical method. James I, we may well believe, had been more impressed by the parade of learned princes from antiquity and by the full Renaissance flavor of the discussions of magic and astrology, whereas Charles II was a virtuoso of a more advanced kind* whose interest in the work of the Royal Society was enhanced by his desire to see the example of the French Academy emulated in England.

One of the objects of both books was to vindicate science against its detractors, and this, at a time when it was customary to survey the progress of knowledge in this way,⁷ was done in either case by viewing it against the background of the whole of human history. It is, then, in this historical survey that we shall first expect to find that Sprat has assimilated material from his predecessor. The first adaptation of words and ideas from the *Advancement* occurs, in fact, in Sprat's Dedication where he is giving examples from antiquity of the respect shown for mechanical science:

Whereas founders and uniterers of states and cities, lawgivers, extirpers of tyrants, fathers of the people, and other eminent persons in civil merit, were honoured but with the titles of worthies or demi-gods; such as were Hercules, Theseus, Minos, Romulus, and the like; on the other side, such as were inventors and authors of new arts, endowments, and commodities towards man's life, were ever consecrated among the gods themselves; as was Ceres, Bacchus, Mercurius, Apollo, and others. (*Advancement*, Book I, in *Works*, III, 301)

What reverence all *Antiquity* had for the Authors of *natural Discoveries*, is evident by the diviner Sort of Honour they conferr'd on them. Their Founders of *philosophical Opinions* were only admir'd by their own *Sects*: Their *valiant Men* and *Generals* did seldom rise higher than to *Demy-Gods* and *Heroes*: But the Gods they worshipped with *Temples* and *Altars*, were those who instructed the world to *plow*, to *sow*, to *plant*, to *spin*, to *build Houses*, and to find out *new Countries*. (*History* sig. a3v)

The point of departure here is Sprat's bracketing of "philosophical Opinions" with the less reverenced knowledge. To Bacon, science was certainly broad enough to admit philosophy (in the sense of metaphysics). For him, it was the possibility which metaphysics gave to "abridge the infinity of individual experience as much as the conception of truth will permit" which helped to remedy the complaint of *vita brevis, ars longa*.⁸

Only a complete collation⁹ could show the frequency with which

⁶ Though Charles "mightily laughed at Gresham College for spending time only in weighing of ayre" (Pepys, February 1, 1663/4), yet he took a keen interest in physical science, even going as far as to weigh himself before and after tennis, and he did take some part personally in naval matters. Cf. Sprat, *History*, pp. 149-50.

⁷ Cf. Archer Taylor, *Renaissance Guide to Books* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1945), especially page 3.

⁸ *Advancement*, Book II, in *Works*, III, 356.

⁹ Such a collation exists in MS; it is embodied in H. W. Jones's edition of Sprat's *History* which now awaits publication.

Sprat echoes and adapts Bacon, but two further parallels may perhaps be adduced under this heading. Sprat carries over from Bacon the latter's attack upon "contentious learning" (i.e., scholasticism):

Surely, like as many substances in nature which are solid do putrefy and corrupt into worms, so it is the property of good and sound knowledge to putrefy and dissolve into a number of subtle, idle, unwholesome, and (as I may term them) vermiculate questions, which have indeed a kind of quickness and life of spirit, but no soundness of matter or goodness of quality. (*Advancement*, Book I, in *Works*, III, 285)

In brief, *Disputing* is a very good Instrument to sharpen Men's Wits, and to make them versatile, and wary Defenders of the Principles, which they already know; but it can never much augment the *solid Substance* of *Science* itself: And methinks compar'd to *Experimenting*, it is like *Exercise* to the Body in Comparison of Meat. (*History*, p. 18)

but their wits being shut up in the cells of a few authors (chiefly Aristotle their dictator) as their persons were shut up in the cells of monasteries and colleges; and knowing little history, either of nature or time; did out of no great quantity of matter, and infinite agitation of wit, spin out unto us those laborious webs of learning which are extant in their books. (*Advancement*, Book I, in *Works*, III, 285)

For it may easily be prov'd, that those very Theories, on which they built all their subtile Webs, were not at all collected, by a sufficient Information from the things themselves; which if it can be made out, I hope it will be granted, that the Force and Vigour of their Wit did more hurt, than good. (*History*, p. 18)¹⁰

In Sprat the argument has been narrowed down from "good and sound knowledge" to "Experimenting": he is always anxious to point out, in reference to the Royal Society, "the main purpose of their *Studies*, which I have often repeated to be chiefly bent upon the *Operative*, rather than the *Theoretical Philosophy*".¹¹ Bacon, on the other hand, had been heard to complain that he had "to dig the clay and burn the brick; and more than that (according to the hard condition of the Israelites at the latter end) to gather the straw and stubble over all the fields to burn the bricks withal."¹² Bacon's inductive method took the form of proceeding as rapidly as possible from particulars to general principles, "for our experiments are only such as do ever ascend a degree to the deriving of causes and extracting of axioms."¹³

Sprat clearly stands far enough away from Bacon to perceive what could and what could not be of use in this system. This detachment

¹⁰ The "rejection of Scholasticism" is discussed by Professor Basil Willey in his *Seventeenth Century Background* (London, 1934).

¹¹ Sprat, *History*, p. 257. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 334: "He [the experimenter] labours the plain and undigested Objects of his Senses, without considering them as they are joyn'd into common *Notions*."

¹² Bacon, *op. cit.*, II, 336, from Rawley's Epistle to the Reader prefixed to the *Sylva Sylvarum*.

¹³ *Sylva Sylvarum*, Century VII, *Works*, II, 549-50.

arose from the fifty years of alternate calumny¹⁴ and neglect which separated Bacon from the new scientists. The sponsoring of Bacon, therefore, which began with Joseph Glanvill's pamphlets in favor of experimental science, is to be regarded not as an example of the influence steadily exerted by a great, near-contemporary figure upon his successors, but as the recovery of a voice from the past, much in the way that an earlier period had recovered Plato and Aristotle. The place he occupies in the writings of the new scientists is, indeed, comparable with that given to the ancient authorities in other kinds of literature.

Part III of Sprat's *History* covers roughly the same ground as does that part of the "entrance" to Book I of the *Advancement* in which Bacon had attempted to rescue learning from the charges leveled at it by the Church and men of affairs. The following passages dealing with the second class of objectors correspond :

And as for the disgraces which learning receiveth from politiques, they be of this nature; that learning doth soften men's minds, and makes them more unapt for the honour and exercise of arms; that it doth mar and pervert men's dispositions for matter of government and policy, in making them too curious and irresolute by variety of reading, or too peremptory or positive by strictness of rules and axioms, or too immoderate and overweening by reason of the greatness of examples, or too incompatible and differing from the times by reason of the dissimilitude of examples; or at least that it doth divert men's travails from action and business, and bringeth them to a love of leisure and private-ness; and that it doth bring into states a relaxation of discipline, whilst every man is more ready to argue than to obey and execute. (*Advancement*, Book I, in *Works*, III, 268)

As to the first, it has been an old Complaint, that has been long manag'd by Men of Business, against many sorts of *Knowledge*, that our Thoughts are thereby infected with such Conceptions as make them more unfit for Action, than they would have been, if they were wholly left to the force of their own *Nature*. The common Accusations against *Learning* are such as these; That it inclines men to be unsettled, and *contentious*; That it takes up more of their Time, than Men of Business ought to bestow; That it makes them *Romantic*, and subject to frame more perfect Images of Things, than the Things themselves will bear; That it renders them overweening, unchangeable, and ob-stinate; That thereby Men become averse from a practical Course, and unable to bear the Difficulties of Action; That it employs them about Things which are nowhere in use in the World; and, That it draws them to neglect and con-temn their own present Times, by doting on the past. (*History*, p. 331)

Sprat's strictures from this point onwards up to Section XII¹⁵ merely amplify these strictures already developed out of Bacon, and thus they are at two removes, so to speak, from Bacon himself. Nevertheless, it is useful to compare Section IX of the Third Part of Sprat's

¹⁴ In 1660, for instance, Bacon had been attacked by Gilbert Clarke in his *De Plenitudine Mundi*, which is a defense of Cartesianism against Hobbes and Bacon.

¹⁵ Our references refer to the section numbers of the *History* as printed; we ignore the wrong numbering in the original editions.

History, headed "The Fourth Objection, That it makes Men presumptuous and obstinate," with that paragraph in the "entrance" in which Bacon denies that learned men are "thwart, and mutinous."¹⁸ Sprat treats this charge by making a distinction which had not existed for Bacon, between a "*thinking Man*, and a *Man of Experience*. The first does commonly establish his constant Rules, by which he will be guided; The latter commonly makes none of his *Opinions* irrevocable."¹⁹

We must now turn to the scientific portions of Sprat's *History*. These take the form of reprints (with suitable alterations) of original papers delivered to the Society by its members,²⁰ which do not concern us here, and long summaries of work done (pp. 156-57, 195-99, 215-27, 240-51, 254-59, and 311-19) which we must now consider. Sprat, as far as can be ascertained, had fairly detailed instructions from the Society as to what he had to include and what omit: though he says he was "permitted to peruse" the Society's Registers and Journal, yet "ordered" would have been nearer the mark. A committee had been formed under Robert Hooke "to consider of certain papers to be inserted in the History of the Society," and the process of selecting went on for three years, with intermissions owing to the Fire of London.²¹ But that Sprat was allowed some scope is shown in his abridgment of "new ways of making *Instruments*, for keeping time very exactly, both with *Pendulums* and without them" (*History*, p. 247), on which Hooke observes²² that "The account of the several ways was given somewhat larger to the learned author of that excellent *History*, yet he, as judging it more proper to his design, was pleased to give only this summary account." Bearing in mind the constraint on Sprat, we can consider the arrangement of the lists in the *History*. Having little practical connection with the Society (it seems probable that he never attended), what could be more natural for him than to turn for guidance, in the scientific portion of the work, to Bacon, the "authority" on whom he had modeled the framework of his book? And it seems probable that this is what in fact he did, taking the *Sylva Sylvarum; or a Natural History* as his standard.²³

¹⁸ Bacon, *op. cit.*, III, 273 (penultimate paragraph).

¹⁹ Sprat, *History*, p. 335.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

²¹ Thomas Birch, *History of the Royal Society* (1753-6), I, 507, and II, 3, 6-7, 47, 51, 161, 163, and 176. It is not quite clear that these minutes refer only to the complete papers inserted in the *History*; they probably include the lists of experiments also.

²² *Lectiones Cutlerianae*, ed. R. T. Gunther (Oxford, 1931), p. 150.

²³ Morhof suggested (*Polyhistor*, 1688; ed. Lübeck, 1732, I, 136) that Sprat had little regard for Bacon's *Natural History*. Discussing the main objects of Sprat's book in his review, Morhof wrote: "Agit primum is prolixus de veterum defectibus in philosophia Naturali, cum quibus hodierni seculi felicitatem, confort, initium faciens a Bacono Verulamio, quem laudibus maximis, ut decebat, ornat: aliqua tamen in illo desiderat, quod scil. ipsam Historiam Naturalem attinet." The only passage from Sprat which Morhof could have meant is the following: "His Rules [i.e., Bacon's of philosophy] were admirable; yet his *History* not so faithful, as might have been wish'd, in many Places; he seems

In his treatise Bacon had attempted "nowhere to depart from the sense and clear experience."²² In fact, however, it is only partly a report of experiments carried out. His manner is to "join the contemplative and active part together."²³ And indeed the precise ten centuries of observations do seem to be too regular an achievement to have arisen out of nature. Rawley had suggested that the attentive reader would discover a "secret order" in the *Sylva*, but it is truer to say that it is the organizing mind which is most in evidence. Even so, there are actual experiments reported which correspond with those later conducted by the Royal Society and reported by Sprat. They both have a report on the chameleon, for instance, the Royal Society having gone so far as to dissect one.²⁴ In particular, the rough sections in which Sprat classified reports of proceedings²⁵ appear to owe something to Bacon whose great achievement in the *Sylva* it had been to classify the various kinds of phenomena to be investigated. The following table shows the entries in the *Sylva* which correspond with the paragraph headings in Sprat's *History*:

SPRAT	BACON (<i>Works</i> II)
Of Fire	§31-2
Of Air	§27, 76-82
Of Water	§91
Of Metals and Stones	pp. 448-50
Of Vegetables	Century V ("We shall now inquire of plants or vegetables")

The significant influence of Bacon is naturally in the matter of terms and headings; nevertheless, there is some similarity of content which suggests the influence of Bacon upon Sprat or upon the Royal Society itself. Bacon had written: "But it is a noble trial, and of very great consequence, to try whether these things [i.e., onions, etc., hung in the air], in the sprouting do increase weight; which must be tried by weighing them before they be hanged up, and afterwards again when they are sprouted."²⁶ The Royal Society made the necessary trial. And so it is perhaps with an eye to Bacon's proposal for an experiment that Sprat reports twice "of the Decrease of the Weight of Plants growing in Air."²⁷ Much of Bacon's treatise is made up of these proposals, and in fact it may be said that the difference in the meaning of "Philosophy" for Bacon and Sprat is the difference between what is essentially theoretical and what is essentially practical.

rather to take all that comes, than to choose, and to heap, rather than to register" (*History*, p. 36). Sprat may refer here to Bacon's *History of the Reign of King Henry VII*, but, even if he refers to the *Natural History*, as Morhof supposes, Sprat's disapproval would not necessarily be incompatible with the kind of use which he suggested he made of the *Sylva*.

²² W. Rawley's Epistle to the Reader, in *Works*, II, 335.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 385.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 460-61 (i.e., §360), and Sprat, *History*, pp. 223 and 219.

²⁵ Those on pages 215-25.

²⁶ Bacon, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

²⁷ Sprat, *History*, pp. 219 and 222-23.

We may conclude, then, that Sprat regarded the Royal Society as having carried into practice what Bacon had proposed in theory; and that to show this was one of his intentions in the *History*. To return to that part of his book which lies in the immediate background of literature, we shall see that this is the way in which Sprat's digressions on the nature of prose-style are to be interpreted. Bacon's remarks on prose-style in the *Advancement* had been fundamentally theoretical. Springing from his view that rhetoric was the servant of reason without the capacity to "invent" in the primary sense (this being a function of logic), came the ideal of an exact balance of words and matter with just sufficient variation to allow of two styles (both hypothetical), one to be employed for knowledge which was ready for use and the other for knowledge which was still "in progression."²⁸ His central position is that "words are but images of matter"—a re-echoing of the old tag of Simonides also quoted by Cowley in the Prefatory Ode. Thus he attacks "Delicate Learning" (waste of words) and "Contentious Learning" (excess of matter). This leads him to make a characteristically theoretical proposal in Book II of the *Advancement* for "setting down in the very beginning the definitions of our words and terms."

Sprat's account of the Royal Society's actual achievement in this direction may therefore be regarded as a parallel case to the plant-growing experiment referred to above. The two relevant passages are set out below, the common reference to mathematicians suggesting that Sprat may well have had this passage of Bacon in mind.

And lastly, let us consider the false appearances that are imposed on us by words, which are framed and applied according to the conceit and capacities of the vulgar sort: and although we think we govern our words, and prescribe it well, *Logendum ut vulgus, sentiendum ut sapientes*, yet certain it is that words, as a Tartar's bow, do shoot back upon the understanding of the wisest, and mightily entangle and pervert the judgment; so as it is almost necessary in all controversies and disputations to imitate the wisdom of the Mathematicians, in setting down in the very beginning the definitions of our words and terms, that others may know how we accept and understand them, and whether they concur with us or no. (*Works*, III, 396-97)

They have therefore been more rigorous in putting in Execution the only Remedy, that can be found for this *Extravagance*; and that has been a constant Resolution, to reject all the Amplifications, Digressions, and Swellings of Style; to return back to the primitive Purity and Shortness, when Men deliver'd so many *Things*, almost in an equal Number of *Words*. They have exacted from all their Members, a close, naked, natural way of Speaking; positive Expressions, clear Senses; a native Easiness; bringing all *Things* as near the mathematical Plainness as they can; and preferring the Language of Artizans, Countrymen, and Merchants, before that of Wits, or Scholars. (*History*, p. 113)

²⁸ Bacon, *op. cit.*, III, 248 and 403. The two meanings that Bacon gives to "Invention" are discussed by K. R. Wallace in his *Francis Bacon on Communication and Rhetoric* (Durham, North Carolina, 1943), p. 55.

We see, then, that much of the early work of the Royal Society was not of original inspiration, but dealt with materials and points of view inherited from Bacon—a state of affairs happily epitomized for us by the official *History of the Royal Society*, both in its account of work done and in its literary standards and mannerisms. In 1665 the Society took steps to establish a subcommittee for linguistic reform,²⁹ which had held three or four meetings before its activities were brought to an end by the death of Cowley. In this matter of clear thinking and expression, Bacon had again anticipated the Society. His anticipations are even clearer in the arguments of Bishop John Wilkins in his *Essay towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language* (1668); Bacon had maintained that speech, the organ for the tradition of knowledge, was quite separable from "Cogitations" themselves. The relation of a word to a thought was thus that of an algebraic symbol or a hieroglyph. Bacon's assertion, that "we see in the commerce of barbarous people that understand not one another's language, and in the practice of divers that are dumb and deaf, that men's minds are expressed in gestures, though not exactly, yet to serve the turn," anticipates Wilkins' belief that the relation of speech to thought is mechanical; while Bacon's reference to the teaching of the deaf and dumb was also taken up practically by Wilkins and Holder. Finally, Bacon had noted that "It is the use of China and the kingdoms of the high Levant to write in Characters Real, which express neither letters nor words in gross, but Things or Notions."³⁰ From this passage Wilkins may have drawn not only the thought he expresses, but also the title of his thesis. Bacon, in his own style, had never quite rid himself of the poetry of his Elizabethan background: it remained for a later generation to carry his precepts into strict and laborious practice.

University of Leeds

²⁹ For full details see B. S. Monroe, "An English Academy," *MP*, VIII (1910-11), 107-22.

³⁰ Bacon, *op. cit.*, p. 399.

SEJANUS AND CORIOLANUS: A STUDY IN ALIENATION

By EDWIN HONIG

Coriolanus

He would not answer to; forbade all names;
He was a kind of nothing, titleless. . . .
(*Coriolanus*, Act V, Scene 1)

great Sejanus,
Whose glories, style, and titles are himself. . . .
(*Sejanus*, Act II, Scene 1)

In bringing *Sejanus* and *Coriolanus* momentarily together, we should elude at the outset two commonplaces of criticism. The first is to use the name of Shakespeare as a bastinado against whatever company he happens to be thrown with. The second is promptly to dismiss the first in order to conclude what amounts to the same thing: that while some may indeed be able to keep pace with Shakespeare, and occasionally even share his board, it is only as the fly buzzes alongside the lion or touches his meat while neither is aware of the other's activity.

Far from being unaffected by one another's dramatic works, Shakespeare and Jonson (as Professor Campbell has credibly demonstrated¹) were at several points commonly employed in adapting a new type of dramatic invention—the tragical satire. Their productions at such a time naturally differed in many ways; but they differed where the preoccupation was most alike: in the resolution given to the moral question of authority in the state. In this, *Coriolanus* is closer to *Sejanus* than is any other Shakespeare hero, not because they are temperamentally akin, but because as instruments of their own alienation from society the two heroes reveal the disruption of the old order in the anarchy prevailing under a weakened or merely negative authority. The doctrine which they both enact is not that the willful assertion of power in a single head is evil or tyrannous, but that tyranny and social chaos are inevitable where the dispositions, functions, and responsibilities of authority have been dislodged from their traditional social sources.

In *Coriolanus* the question is mainly focused on the alienation of a "natural" leader from a fickle and temporarily rebellious populace. Shakespeare isolates his hero, and hence the problem, in a study of fissured pride and mother domination. The rift is first psychological and moral, and then, as illustrated by the displacement of power in the hands of the tribunes and people, only secondly social. The need of a correspondence in obedience—the people to *Coriolanus*, and

¹ O. J. Campbell, *Shakespeare's Satire* (New York, 1943).

Coriolanus to the will of the people—becomes crucial only as the wisdom of Coriolanus' obedience to his mother is called into question. From her he has drawn his superlative valor and the right to lead, as well as his psychopathic hatred of those he is destined to lead. A morally arrested adolescent, Coriolanus fulfills the primitive law of his educated physical endowments in compliance with a fate that ordains his destruction just as he has destroyed others. Unable to act according to the social law which exacts from power a due portion of responsibility, Coriolanus is consistently obedient to the only source of power he can understand—to Volumnia, his mother. There is therefore a primitive and poetic fitness to the manner of his death—that of being murdered by the hydra-headed crowd of his enemies, the Volscians, counterparts of his own people whom he would conquer but disdains to rule. No inspired rebel or social outcast has better portrayed such alienation than Coriolanus.

In *Sejanus* the dramatization of the same problem is structurally more complex. Sejanus is not born to rule, nor is power thrust on him. The craft which has worn deep involutions in his brain and the service which has almost worn out his knees finally bring him to an eminence no less powerful for being unofficial, only second to that of Tiberius Caesar. It soon becomes apparent, however, that such power is nominal and finally dependent on Tiberius, the uneasy emperor who compensates his doubts of fitness and fear of usurpation with exhortations of self-advertised liberality. Even so, one is unaware of Sejanus' precarious hold until it is shown that he has just begun on a career of eradicating all immediate obstacles, including Tiberius, which lie in the way of an official claim to power. Sejanus is the self-made man who cannot believe in his own success until he has reached the top. Alienation in the play is manifested on two levels at once: in the person of Sejanus, whose power is real only as it depends on the unofficial sanctions of the emperor, and finally, only as it strives to become official in the usurpation of Tiberius' seat; and in Tiberius, whose corruptible conscience compels him to play favorites, and hence diminishes the degree of his authority as a ruler. Sejanus like Coriolanus is made to suffer violent death at the hands of a mob. But in *Sejanus* the problem is first viewed as social and moral, and then as psychological.

To what extent the main themes of *Coriolanus* and *Sejanus* may be seen to determine the action depends upon certain historical presuppositions outside the plays or upon certain dramatic assumptions implicit in them. In the case of Jonson, always a tireless expicator of his aims, one finds abundant background material for the assumptions made in *Sejanus*. Thus it may be well to recall some part of the well-known dramatic record that precedes the composition of the play.

Though by 1603, when *Sejanus* was staged, Jonson had not yet written his greatest comedies, he had already been established as

a dramatist second only to Shakespeare. Through *Every Man in His Humour* and the three comical satires which closely followed it (*Every Man Out of His Humour*, *Cynthia's Revels*, and *Poetaster*), Jonson had given comedy a new and personal imprint by creating a vigorous form of caricature quite different from the kind to be found in the comedies of Shakespeare and his contemporaries. Concentrating on the humors of central characters rather than on a mesh of plot intrigue, he came closer to a classical (and mainly Aristophanic) treatment of comedy as a satire of social and psychological types than any of his fellow dramatists.

Much has been written about Jonson's conception of the humors. And while it is not inappropriate to see the humor theory as the result of Jonson's attempts to reform and put new life into dramatic conventions of his day, one must agree with Professor Levin when he says of Jonson's prefaces and of the theory in general, "To accept them is to take an author's rationalizations about his own work too seriously and to ignore the historical circumstances that they were designed to meet."² For if Jonson was a literary critic before he was a scholar, he was always a dramatic poet first. As a creative worker with a strong didactic penchant, he must have been concerned, like Shakespeare, to function in his craft against, and in spite of, the mounting Puritan attacks on the drama of his best years. Thus one feels with Professor Campbell that *Sejanus* (1603) and *Coriolanus* (1608) follow a Roman pattern at least partly because both dramatists are reacting against the Puritans and are taking a kind of revenge on the mob which has been won over by the zealots. Both plays nurse a monumental scorn of the mob, characterized in the end by a cruelty which has something in it of the psychopathology of witch-hunting and lynching. At the same time, however, Jonson and Shakespeare were overtly fulfilling the requirements of a reformed theater—that of offering drama as an instrument of moral instruction. At any rate, though already a prominent dramatist before 1603, Jonson had found two personal grievances which spurred his work in the tragical satire: the audience's indifference to the thinly coated didacticism of his comedies, and the success of faulty historical renditions in plays like *Julius Caesar*.

The "Apologetical Dialogue" to *Poetaster* accurately foreshadows *Sejanus*:

And, since the Comic Muse
Hath proved so ominous to me, I will try
If Tragedy have a more kind aspect;
Her favours in my next I will pursue,
Where, if I prove the pleasure but of one,
So he judicious be, he shall be alone
A theatre unto me. . . .

² Harry Levin, *Selected Works of Ben Jonson* (New York, 1938), Introduction, pp. 5-6.

But *Sejanus* did not fare any better than its predecessor. And Jonson remarks in his dedication to Esme Lord Aubigny: "It is a poem, that, if I well remember, in your lordship's sight suffered no less violence from our people here, than the subject of it did from the rage of the people of Rome. . . ." But he has managed all the same, as he says, to reach "the love of good men" among the small group of contemporaries who praised his play, and among the larger audience of posterity, who if not understanding its grace and momentous aptness would at least write learnedly about it as though they did. In his note "To the Readers" of *Sejanus*, Jonson gives reasons for his satisfaction in a job well done. First, though violating the classical unities, he has maintained the tone of classical tragedy "in truth of argument, dignity of persons, gravity and height of elocution, fulness and frequency of sentence. . . ." Second, he has avoided mere padding and apocryphal invention in order to "shew my integrity in the story," the real history of Sejanus, even if "in some nice nostril the quotations might savour affected." And, to the delight of later scholars, he has also indicated almost all his Latin sources, having "presupposed none but the learned would take the pains to confer them."

It is apparent that Jonson's forethought and fidelity to classical sources do not automatically make for first-rate tragedy. They provide the author with a sturdy form in which he may confidently set forth his already intense conception of satire and his urgent moral ideas.

The dramatic assumptions available to the reader of *Coriolanus* are not quite so explicit. They are rather implicit in the work itself, as in the case of *Troilus and Cressida*, *Measure for Measure*, and *Timon of Athens*, which because of a dramatic emphasis different from that of his great tragedies are called the "problem plays." One may block them off, as Professor Campbell has done, and show how, for various reasons, they are all preoccupied with themes of satire. But then one is also obliged to show that in Shakespeare's earlier plays, in the comedies as well as in the great tragedies, long stretches of dramatic tension were similarly upheld by at least one device of satire, that of irony. At this point one must hasten to introduce historical examples of other dramatic elements at work: in the Elizabethan clowns and louts, legitimate offspring of the character of Vice in the moralities; the fashion of dramatic and poetic satire set during the decade by Chapman, Marston, Jonson, and others, certainly partly as a result of the Bishop's restraining order; the humor theory of Jonson; and the invention by Chapman of the character of the malcontent. In introducing all these things, Professor Campbell does not solve any problem in Shakespeare's later plays; he does, however, admirably fill in the picture against which certain features of a play like *Coriolanus* may be better understood: the bareness of its plot, its great mob scenes, its terrible insistence on the moral assassination

of its principal character. One must look beyond this to the play itself for the dramatic assumptions which are crucial to an understanding of its theme.

The view of Roman society one gets in *Coriolanus* is that of an aristocracy of privilege and birth limited temporarily by a democracy of direct popular will. This governmental organization is explicitly set forth in the famous first scene where the popular uprising against the patricians is stifled by the military leader of the Romans, Caius Marcius (later called Coriolanus), and by Menenius, a patrician with a reputation for dealing honestly with the masses. What has finally appeased the multitude is not the satisfaction of their hunger, the grain stored up in the public treasury, but the granting of "Five tribunes to defend their vulgar wisdoms, Of their own choice," as Coriolanus himself puts it. One is assured of the people's just grievances, yet more strongly of their capacity for being deceived. Menenius, the experienced and eloquent aristocrat, wins back the hungry mob with an allegorical speech. Coriolanus, called "chief enemy of the people," is simply a military hero with an overwhelming hatred of his fellow Romans. In so far as he is particularized in the popular mind, he is accepted for being pretty much what he continues to be throughout the play, an excessively proud strong man who "hath done famously," and "though soft-conscienced men can be content to say it was for his country, he did it to please his mother, and to be partly proud; which he is, even to the altitude of his virtue" (I, i).

A depressed time, a traditional aristocracy forced to grant liberties to the people and thus to diminish its power, a war which takes the people's minds away from their hunger, a military stalwart in the field, hating the people and lustng almost sensually for battle—this is the situation which must be taken as the dramatic assumption necessary to the development and resolution of the main theme.

In the succeeding action Shakespeare relentlessly reinforces, as he elaborates, the original stiff lines of the Coriolanus portrait. In the communication received by the enemy concerning the disposition of the Romans, the Volscian general, Aufidius, learns of Coriolanus that he "is of Rome worse hated than of you." Volumnia's fierce pride in Coriolanus discloses the Spartan conditions of her son's education in arms. She has groomed him "to let him seek danger where he was like to find fame." And the stark portrayal of the sadistic butterfly chase, in which the young son of Coriolanus has been seen to engage, offers a miniature variant of the blood-lusty father himself.

Coriolanus' courage on the battlefield is both epic and "foolhardy," as his soldiers remark when they watch him enter alone the gates of Corioli, the enemy city which he subsequently captures single-handed. Properly understood, his courage is really neither epic nor foolhardy. For only in the trial of battle does the professional soldier, the war-educated hero, truly live to beget glory. Through its con-

suming heat, he becomes a giant among men, a lion among "geese, That bear the shapes of men." Bathed in gore, his passion mounting among the dead and wounded, amid the cries of the multitude killing and dying, Coriolanus experiences a sensual, mystical happiness, "As merry as when our nuptial day was done, And tapers burn'd to bedward." Only in the crush of massed conflict, when each man is his own savior, is Coriolanus really at one with himself and his fellows. But soon heroized, newly titled in victory, the passion falls. He will not be praised :

Pray now, no more: my mother,
Who has a charter to extol her blood,
When she does praise me grieves me. I have done
As you have done; that's what I can; induc'd
As you have been; that's for my country...
(Act I, Scene 9)

Nor is this modesty false which refuses praise for an accomplishment that has been its own reward. The more his integrity is forced to display itself the more it seems to distort Coriolanus into first a scornful, then a raging critic of his countrymen. Even his mother, to whom he is most obedient, "grieves" him in her praise. How much more, then, must he despise the populace who in honoring him as their savior—not merely as his own—claim the ritualistic privilege of seeing him, like any beggar, advertising his wounds in public? If the pride of birth keeps him, like his fellow patricians, naturally aloof from the plebeians he whips into battle, it is the pride of a man unwilling to confuse military position—his fulfilled duty—with a popular calling which turns sourly on the citizens who mean to prove him again. The closer he abides by his own integrity, the harsher is the popular condemnation of the defect they imagine it to be. In explaining the tension of wills thus created, Shakespeare satirizes the public for its gullibility as much as he censures the extremity of the hero's indignantly maintained alienation :

SEC. OFF. Faith, there have been many great men that have flattered the people, who ne'er loved them; and there be many that they have loved, they know not wherefore; so that if they love they know not why, they hate upon no better ground. Therefore, for Coriolanus neither to care whether they love or hate him manifests the true knowledge he has in their disposition; and out of his noble carelessness lets them plainly see't.

FIRST OFF. If he did not care whether he had their love or no, he waved indifferently, 'twixt doing them neither good nor harm; but he seeks their hate with greater devotion than they can render it him; and leaves nothing undone that may fully discover him their opposite. Now, to seem to affect the malice and displeasure of the people is as bad as that which he dislikes, to flatter them for their love. (Act II, Scene 2)

And when later the jealous tribunes, through the easy stratagem of provoking Coriolanus' rage after his popular election as consul, manage to have him banished, they only thus reflect by their defective

leadership the people's own anarchic temper. That Coriolanus should thereupon turn and lead the Volscian army against them comes both as due punishment for their misguided rebellion against an official leader and as the only gesture, ratified by a will habitually detached from judgment, of which Coriolanus is capable. In being deflected by his mother from his military objective, the annihilation of Rome, Coriolanus remains true to the only authority he can obey: the source of his supererogated valor and his aborted judgment. At the end, it is a doubly powerful—because till then unsuspected—dramatic irony that Coriolanus should be accused of treason by the Volscians, a people (no less guilty than the Romans for being duped by their leaders) who earlier served as the mere instrument of his personal rage. With even less provocation than inspired the Romans to banish him, the Volscians, at a word from Aufidius, put Coriolanus to death. Both peoples have been abundantly diminished by the wars, and the hero, Coriolanus, the product of their praise and scorn, and of their appetite for flattery and gain, has been murdered in a last burst of anarchic despair. Only Aufidius, the Volscian general and would-be hero himself, voices the perennial tribute of the professional soldier to his military peer.

If in *Coriolanus* the criticism which is thrown against the late anarchy of a depressed time sighs by implication for a former time's juster authority, the traditions of an earlier golden age are explicitly insisted on in *Sejanus* as a glass in which contemporary deformities must be seen. The stoic patricians who murmur now softly, now hoarsely, throughout the play, are all conscious within the memory of their own lives of the glory that was Rome in the society of a benevolent emperor, wise patricians, and an obedient populace. They invoke all the brave old men who knew how to deal with tyranny:

Where is now the soul
Of godlike Cato? he that durst be good,
When Caesar durst be evil; and had power,
As not to live his slave, to die his master?
Or where's the constant Brutus, that, being proof
Against all charm of benefits, did strike
So brave a blow into the monster's heart
That sought unkindly to captive his country?
(Act I)

What is said generally of "Pompey's dignity, The innocence of Cato, Caesar's spirit, Wise Brutus' temperance," is said specifically of Germanicus, the later general:

He was a man most like to virtue; in all
And every action, nearer to the gods
Than men, in nature; of a body as fair
As was his mind; and no less reverend
In face than fame. He could so use his state,

Tempr'ing his greatness with his gravity,
As it avoided all self-love in him,
And spite in others.

What therefore follows upon the entrance of Tiberius, the present emperor and fountainhead of all new evils, comes momentarily as a surprise. An emperor who proclaims his equality with other men, who forbids flattery, and styles himself the very model of "a good and honest prince" would seem to be acting in the best tradition of the old rule. It is his very insistence on such points, however, which gradually wakens the suspicions of the older patricians:

But when his grace is merely but lip-good,
And that no longer than he airs himself
Abroad in public—there to seem to shun
The strokes and stripes of flatterers, which within
Are lechery unto him, and so feed
His brutish sense with their afflicting sound,
As, dead to virtue, he permits himself
Be carried like a pitcher by the ears,
To every act of vice—this is a case
Deserves our fear, and doth presage the nigh
And close approach of blood and tyranny.

Thus the irony is readily established, and the major chord in dramatic progression is struck. Flattery, duplicity, the elaborate machinations which disguise real motives, and the great restive forces of deceit within the individual which perpetually debate with his smooth words—this is the atmosphere in which the conflict is sharpened amid a general imbroglio of cross purposes.

Whereas in *Coriolanus* there are moments when one senses a pathos in the author's treatment of his alienated hero, the moral repulsion that went into the creation of Sejanus one feels is never abated. As Miss Bradbrook has suggested, "The criticism is implicit in the very conception of character; he is a magnificent monster, deliberately dehumanised, who only needs presenting for a 'moral' to be stated." Because Sejanus "is less a man than a destructive force . . . he can be explicit" like the characters of the moralities "who, being abstractions, could do no more and no less than display themselves in this dispassionate and analytic way."³ That this dehumanization of character is accomplished by nullifying the "suspension of disbelief" has been offered as a criticism of all Jonsonian drama. That it is also the strength of his unique dramatic intensity, the simultaneous transfusion of caricature and moral into the plot, has rarely been noticed. A more acceptable dramatic formula like Shakespeare's will display by stage action, more than by stage rhetoric, some basic dramatic theme. But one must remember that *Coriolanus*, the quick-tempered misanthrope, is a vastly different sort of person from Sejanus, the

³ M. C. Bradbrook, *Themes and Conventions of Elizabethan Tragedy* (Cambridge, 1935), pp. 130-31.

wily opportunist. One must also remember that Jonson, for better or worse, was trying to establish historic verisimilitude as well as to portray a morally feasible action. Thus Shakespeare throws his hero into the midst of a rebellious mob and into the heat of an elaborate battle in the very first act of the play. But Jonson sends his crafty hero-villain fawning, scheming, and posturing through four long acts, until finally Sejanus is ready to recommend himself to acting freely the role of a man who has painfully arrived within an inch of his plotted achievement.

Never in *Sejanus* does the dramatist desert his dual aim for an interest in stage business, in dramatic side-play for its own sake. Always present are the stoic patricians, and especially Arruntius, the bitterly loquacious chorric observer, to paint a setting, to point up a scene, to comment on an action. A small army of characters (there are more than forty individual actors in the play) are continually moving on and off stage. And during those rare moments when only one or two are called for, others invariably concealed behind a curtain are drinking in the precious undertone, the private detail. Even the Eudemus-Livia scene, where the court physician, having become a pander to Sejanus' designs on Prince Drusus' wife, minutely ministers to the lady's vanity, seems to echo in lurking ears the coldblooded plot to poison Drusus, which Sejanus has just arranged with the same physician and the same lady.

Such particularity of witness and rehearsal of dramatic aim do not constitute an obliteration of character on the stage. If Jonson's characters are too intensely monomaniacal to suggest that variety of human emotion which would make them "real," they are certainly not mere didactic puppets. They assail an audience's best sympathies by refusing to mitigate their own personal obsessions with an admission of the moral defects they are so defiantly enacting. In this sense they are like an express train which always arrives on time; it is not the train's fault, however, if the passengers who refused to board her because the journey was considered too risky are the same ones who now stare incredulously at it from another platform, unable to account for the miracle of having arrived at a proposed destination without having accepted the means of transportation there. How Jonson carries off this deception, how he finally causes a conscious audience to identify itself with a situation, a character, and a purpose from which it was repelled at the start, is a secret of his art well worth looking into.

The extent to which the power and genius for evil in Sejanus are made real depends originally on a recognition of these potentialities universally in man. One gathers that Sejanus is only the outward example of all the sins which in a degenerate time leap from man's breast and reveal themselves in his actions. The disease runs riot even in the high governing halls where

not alone our gentries chief are fain
 To make their safety from such sordid acts,
 But all our consuls, and no little part
 Of such as have been praetors, yea, the most
 Of senators, that else not use their voices,
 Start up in public Senate, and there strive
 Who shall propound most abject things, and base;

to which is added :

Well, all is worthy of us, were it more,
 Who with our riots, pride, and civil hate,
 Have so provoked the justice of the gods.
 We, that, within these fourscore years, were born
 Free, equal lords of the triumphed world,
 And knew no masters but affections;
 To which betraying first our liberties,
 We since became the slaves to one man's lusts;
 And now to many. . . .

Somewhere the nobility has gone out of men; but, as Arruntius puts it, the fault is not that of the times :

Times! the men,
 The men are not the same! 'Tis we are base,
 Poor, and degenerate from th' exalted strain
 Of our great fathers. . . .

All's but blaze,
 Flashes and smoke, wherewith we labour so,
 There's nothing Roman in us; nothing good,
 Gallant, or great.

Thus the loss of positive virtues breeds a proportionate growth in all varieties of vice and in the number of their exemplars. For one falsely ennobled Sejanus, there are, it must be presumed, scores of lesser men burning with the same monstrous ambitions and actively devising their own advancement on the ruins of others, while social and moral corruption seethes. Sejanuses in miniature are the two confederates,

Satrius Secundus and Pinnarius Natta,
 The great Sejanus' clients—there be two,
 Know more than honest counsels; whose close breasts,
 Were they ripped up to light, it would be found
 A poor and idle sin, to which their trunks
 Had not been made fit organs. These can lie,
 Flatter, and swear, forswear, deprave, inform,
 Smile, and betray; make guilty men; then beg
 The forfeit lives, to get the livings; cut
 Men's throats with whisp'ring; sell to gaping suitors
 The empty smoke that flies about the Palace;
 Laugh when their patron laughs; sweat when he sweats;
 Be hot and cold with him; change every mood,
 Habit, and garb, as often as he varies;
 Observe him, as his watch observes his clock;
 And, true as turquoise in the dear lord's ring.

Look well or ill with him, ready to praise
 His lordship, if he spit, or but piss fair,
 Have an indifferent stool, or break wind well;
 Nothing can 'scape their catch.

This is the smaller mirror in which appear the lineaments of Sejanus' larger stratagems, an ambition leading to nothing less than the usurpation of the empire. Meanwhile, in apparent ignorance of the other's ambitions, Tiberius honors Sejanus further and verbalizes a textbook oratory on the duties of a liberal prince, significantly ending his discourse by warning others of the arbitrary prerogatives of royal power:

Princes have still their grounds reared with themselves,
 Above the poor, low flats of common men;
 And who will search the reasons for their acts,
 Must stand on equal bases.

And outside the established order, protected for the moment by its wide dispensation, crackles the unremitting fire of Sejanus' designs:

Adultery? It is the lightest ill
 I will commit. A race of wicked acts
 Shall flow out of my anger, and o'erspread
 The world's wide face, which no posterity
 Shall e'er approve, nor yet keep silent. . . .

Intending to use Tiberius as the tool for all such villainies, but to reap "the prize" himself, Sejanus is aware that he must simultaneously dethrone the gods:

Tell proud Jove,
 Between his power and thine there is no odds.
 'Twas only fear first in the world made gods.

Consequently in rallying the emperor to action, Sejanus advises him to banish fear as well as all religious scruples. One feels he is simply projecting his own anticipated power in the person of Tiberius, now made a ready instrument by the disaffection of conscience:

TIBERIUS: Sit down, my comfort. When the master prince
 Of all the world, Sejanus, saith he fears,
 Is it not fatal?
 SEJANUS: Yes, to those are feared.
 TIBERIUS: And not to him?
 SEJANUS: Not if he wisely turn
 That part of fate he holdeth, first on them.
 TIBERIUS: That nature, blood, and laws of kind forbid.
 SEJANUS: Do policy and state forbid it?
 TIBERIUS: No.
 SEJANUS: The rest of poor respects, then, let go by.
 State is enough to make th' act just, them guilty.
 TIBERIUS: Long hate pursues such acts.
 SEJANUS: Whom hatred frights,
 Let him not dream of sovereignty.

TIBERIUS: Are rites
 Of faith, love, piety, to be trod down,
 Forgotten, and made vain?
 SEJANUS: All for a crown.
 The prince who shames a tyrant's name to bear,
 Shall never dare do anything but fear;
 All the command of sceptres quite doth perish,
 If it begin religious thoughts to cherish.
 Whole empires fall, swayed by those nice respects.

Seeming to weaken before the other's infectious ardor, Tiberius submits with the less heartening, face-saving words:

We can no longer
 Keep on our mask to thee, our dear Sejanus,
 Thy thoughts are ours in all, and we but proved
 Their voice, in our designs, which by assenting
 Hath more confirmed us, than if heart'ning Jove
 Had, from his hundred statues, bid us strike,
 And at the stroke clicked all his marble thumbs.
 But who shall first be struck?

This is the most crucial scene in the play. In it is contained the overt theory of power by which, under one guise, everything becomes possible (the emperor's conscience is salved by ridding him of all existing threats to his authority), and under another guise (the later workings of divine justice), Sejanus as the instigator of such violence is himself obliterated. The defect which results in Sejanus' final alienation is not that he attempted too much, nor even that the means he used were reprehensible, but that he acted without two sanctions of constituted authority: first, without the still absolute and official functions of imperial design; second, in defiance of the ultimate source of those functions, accepted religion.

Thus from this point to the end of the play, the net of his own destruction is strung solely by the hand of Sejanus. Before Tiberius agrees to remove himself temporarily in order to satisfy his lusts away from the eyes of Rome, he designates Macro, a lackey whose motives are not less questionable than those of Sejanus, as a personal spy. Nominally free to exploit his designs, Sejanus rises through the people's awe of his power, which in the fifth act seems to override his own tallest imaginings. It is at this moment, transfixed among the stars and risen above all the forward indications of his inevitable fall, that Sejanus becomes the embodiment of every man's dream of power. With his hand on the door behind which lie all the glories of the world, Sejanus is suddenly heroized in magnificent proximity to absolute authority. Here, the lines from *Coriolanus*—"Murd'ring impossibility, to make What cannot be, slight work"—would seem to suit Sejanus better. Has he not accomplished against all our moral predispositions exactly what we have been led to believe he could not do, though we have hoped secretly that he would? Suddenly his

exultancy, bizarre though it still strikes us, meets the stark insistence of his formerly veiled plots and dark boasts :

Swell, swell, my joys, and faint not to declare
 Yourselves as ample as your causes are.
 I did not live till now: this my first hour,
 Wherein I see my thoughts reached by my power.
 But this, and gripe my wishes! Great and high,
 The world knows only two, that's Rome and I.
 My roof receives me not; 'tis air I tread;
 And, at each step, I feel my advanced head
 Knock out a star in heav'n! Reared to this height,
 All my desires seem modest, poor, and slight,
 That did before sound impudent. 'Tis place,
 Not blood, discerns the noble and the base.
 Is there not something more than to be Caesar?
 Must we rest there? It irks t' have come so far,
 To be so near a stay. (Act V, Scene 1)

" 'Tis place, Not blood, discerns the noble and the base." For a moment, the audience must catch its breath, wondering whether this which they too, rebelling against fate, have so often thought, must not after all be true. But the epiphany of the moment marking the brilliant identity of this challenge to fate immediately begins to flicker and fade. The gods whom Sejanus has blasphemed begin to display their cruel omens. A "monstrous" serpent has been seen issuing from the decapitated statue of Sejanus in Pompey's theater. Others tremble, but Sejanus, now so much above himself, can with double irony note the trappings of servility in a former self and the superstition of lesser men's acceptance :

Monstrous! Why?
 Had it a beard, and horns? no heart? a tongue
 Forked as flattery? Looked it of the hue,
 To such as live in great men's bosoms?

O superstition!
 Why, then the falling of our bed, that brake
 This morning, burdened with the populous weight
 Of our expecting clients, to salute us;
 Or running of the cat betwixt our legs,
 As we set forth unto the Capitol,
 Were prodigies.

Great already in the eyes of men, and in his own eyes only just beginning to reap his hard-earned rewards, Sejanus disdains all gods except Fortune, whom he now is willing to propitiate—not because of any religious faith, but in order to justify all his years of practice in its name, as a private symbol. It is precisely this vestige of almost idle belief in the symbol of his power which begins to crack the self-confidence of the arriviste when in full sight of friends and priests Fortune's image turns its face away. Though in a rage he overturns the statue and calls the bad omen a sign of the goddess' jealousy, his

confidence is attacked on learning that Macro has arrived and secretly called the Senate together by order of Tiberius. Though the fates now challenge him utterly, he still cannot believe his fall is imminent, reposing as he does in the certainty of empirical accomplishments, the approval which all men have given to his "race of wicked acts":

All Rome hath been my slave;
 The Senate sat an idle looker-on
 And witness of my power, when I have blushed
 More to command, than it to suffer. All
 The fathers have sat ready and prepared
 To give me empire, temples, or their throats,
 When I would ask 'em; and, what crowns the top,
 Rome, Senate, people, all the world have seen
 Jove but my equal, Caesar but my second.

A brief and remarkable reversal of doubt is effected when Macro lures him on with the advice that Tiberius means to give him a consulship—the title of official power, without which his greatness must remain insecure. The last speech Sejanus utters while still wearing the illusory cloak of heroism is charged with his worthiest disdain of the religious augurs which even now are accomplishing his downfall:

By you that fools call gods,
 Hang all the sky with your prodigious signs,
 Fill earth with monsters, drop the scorpion down
 Out of the zodiac, or the fiercer lion,
 Shake off the loosened globe from her long hinge,
 Roll all the world in darkness, and let loose
 Th' enraged winds to turn up groves and towns!
 When I do fear again, let me be struck
 With forked fire, and unpitied die!
 Who fears, is worthy of calamity. (Act V, Scene 6)

His entrance into the Senate Hall and his doom is dramatically paved with the wild acclaim of "all the fathers" who formerly had offered him "empire, temples, or their throats." Then comes Tiberius' elaborate letter which begins by verifying all of Sejanus' claims to power, and ends by craftily suggesting his punishment for having presumed on the imperial prerogative. If the stoical patricians remain to applaud the downfall of the usurper, they are also there to observe in the Senate's quick adornment of Macro, Tiberius' new favorite, with the title of Rome's savior, another sign of the state's corruption:

I prophesy, out of this Senate's flattery,
 That this new fellow, Macro, will become
 A greater prodigy in Rome than he
 That now is fall'n. (Act V, Scene 9)

The greatest evil having been extirpated in the condemnation of the usurper, and the corruptibility of emperor and Senate having been reinforced, it remains only to throw the heaviest guilt on the heads of the irresponsible mob. The vivid detail with which their manic

sadism is described when, after Sejanus' beheading, they tear him to pieces and throw his children into the river, is not a device to minimize the crimes of Sejanus, but to incriminate the multitude, and by extension, one would suppose, the audience itself which has just partaken of Sejanus' brief triumph.

Thus Jonson does not leave his audience detached from the last cruel deed, as Shakespeare does when he wraps Coriolanus up in the traditional tribute of a fellow soldier. Jonson implicates the crowd in the guilt of Sejanus by showing them to be instruments of the same goddess of Fortune whom Sejanus venerated:

How Fortune plies her sports, when she begins
To practise 'em! pursues, continues, adds,
Confounds with varying her impassioned moods!

The objectification of Fortune in the passionate actions of men points up the stoical lesson of the patricians, not for pity's sake but for underscoring the worldly justification of the philosopher's private dictum:

Forbear, you things
That stand upon the pinnacles of state,
To boast your slippery height; when you do fall,
You dash yourselves in pieces, ne'er to rise,
And he that lends you pity is not wise.

Yet in this triumph of the philosopher, himself alienated from the actions and passions of men, it is man in his suffering, the state in its corruption, religion in its superstitious rituals which endure the final reproof. And if the drama thus loses the tension of great tragic art, the social accusation which it means to embody relinquishes none of its force for being explicit.

It is through this sense of the heroes' alienation from their unfulfilled and ultimately unfulfillable functions as leaders that one sees the satire which they are designed to enact: in *Coriolanus* and *Sejanus* both, a mob which can be swayed by any expediency to act according to the palpably irresponsible advice of temporarily constituted authority; in *Coriolanus*, the bull-headed integrity of a "natural" leader to a self-constituted ethic which excludes responsibility to the people; in *Sejanus*, the arbitrary investment with authority of a shrewd opportunist who would usurp all authority with the approval of the official and popularly approved leader of the state; and in *Sejanus* again, the moral culpability of an official ruler who acts not justly but out of a sense of guilt and fear, thereby encouraging the increase of roughshod opportunism in the masses, personal tyranny, and finally an obliteration of the vital function of moral responsibility in a leader, without which life in organized society becomes meaningless.

Harvard University

THE KEY TO A PROBLEM IN MILTON'S *COMUS*

By HARRY F. ROBINS

Among the cruces which have long puzzled admirers of Milton's poetry is this passage from *Comus*:

The Sea o'refraught would swel, & th' unsought diamonds
Would so emblaze the forehead of the Deep,
And so bestudd with Stars, that they below
Would grow inur'd to light, and com at last
To gaze upon the Sun with shameles brows.¹

Thus Comus concludes a speech in which, for his own disreputable purposes, he disparages abstinence. The apparent obscurity of the lines has given rise to a number of interpretations none of which seems to me satisfactory. Three major ambiguities obstruct an intelligible explication of Milton's meaning; these are the position of the "unsought diamonds," the location of "the Deep," and the identity of "they below."

A few editors, refusing to acknowledge that the lines are susceptible of logical explanation, have dismissed them as vagaries of the Miltonic imagination.² Others have severally concluded that the diamonds are located in the earth, in the sea, and on "the forehead of the encroaching flood"; that "the Deep" is to be found on the earth, in the earth, or in the sea; and that "they below" are men on earth, men beneath the sea, creatures of the deep, fishes, mermen, people of the lower world, and earth spirits.³ Many editors have neglected to annotate the passage.⁴

These lines, I am convinced, are neither "exceedingly childish" nor "mere poetry," as early commentators held. That Milton intended the passage to be understood, that to his seventeenth-century readers it was readily intelligible, I shall show. The key to this crux, I believe, lies in the observation of Milton's conscious paralleling of the elements of Comus' argument. The existence of the parallelism is confirmed by deleted lines originally written in the Trinity College MS, and it is clarified by an inspection of the scientific lore current in the seventeenth century. The long sentence which is ended by the passage here

¹ John Milton, *A Mask Presented at Ludlow Castle, 1634 &c.* (London, 1673), reproduced in photographic facsimile in *John Milton's Complete Poetical Works*, ed. Harris Francis Fletcher (Urbana, Ill., 1943), I, 72. All future references will be to *Comus* by line number.

² *Vide*: Newton (1785), Todd (1842), Brydges (1848), Keightley (1859).

³ *Vide*: Verity (1891), Moody (1899), Thurber (1901), Sampson (1901), Beeching (1903), Child (1910), Vann in *MLN* (1915), Hughes (1937), Hanford (1941).

⁴ *Vide*: Gillfillan (1853), Masson (1874, 1882, 1890, 1897), Montgomery (1884), Bradshaw (1892), Beeching (1900, 1925), George (1901), Wright (1903), Browne (1906), Allen (1912), Patterson (1946).

under discussion begins with line 709, "Wherefore did Nature powre her bounties forth," and continues for twenty-seven lines. The passage may logically be divided into three elements. In lines 709-19, Comus lists the bounties of Nature. Among her gifts are found odors, fruits, flocks, sea creatures, silk worms, precious metal, and gems. This part of the sentence must also be considered as a question which might be paraphrased briefly thus: Why did Nature pour out her wealth in such profusion unless it were to please and satisfy man's curious taste?

Lines 719-26 propose a hypothetical situation in which mankind, "in a pet of temperance," refuses these gifts of Nature.

The third element of the sentence, lines 727-35, prophesies what would happen if such a hypothetical situation came to pass; Nature would be strangled by her own fertility, that is, by *uncontrolled generation*. In a series of concrete examples, Comus shows how those bounties mentioned in lines 709-19, if allowed to increase without check, would eventually choke up the earth. The parallelism is demonstrated when the first and the third parts of the sentence are placed side by side. The parallels are numbered for future reference.

NATURE'S BOUNTY

THE RESULTS OF UNCONTROLLED
GENERATION

I

Wherefore did Nature powre her
bounties forth,
With such a full and unwith-
drawing hand,

Who [Nature] would be quite
surcharg'd with her own weight,
And strangl'd with her waste
fertility;

II

Covering the earth with odours,
fruits, and flocks,

Th' earth cumber'd . . .

III

Thronging the Seas with spawn
innumerable,

. . . and the wing'd air dark't
with plumes,
The herds would over-magnitude
their Lords,

IV

And set to work millions of
spinning Worms,
That in their green shops
weave the smooth-hair'd silk
To deck her Sons,

The Sea o'refraught would swell . . .

V

VI

... and that no corner might
Be vacant of her plenty, in her
own loyns
She hutch'd th' all-worshipt
ore, and precious gems
To store her children with;

... & th'unthought diamonds
Would so emblaze the forehead of
the Deep,
And so bestudd with Stars, that
they below
Would grow inur'd to light, and
com at last
To gaze upon the Sun with
shameles brows.

The parallelism is not complete; however, in the Trinity College MS, Milton originally had written the line, "the feilds wth cattell & the aire wth fowle."⁶ This deleted line, when placed in III above, supports the assumption of an intended parallelism. One element only (V) was never provided with a counterpart.

The parallelism must be minutely examined. Item I is general and comprehensive; Comus really states his entire argument here. On one side of the ledger, he speaks of Nature's bounties; on the other, he points out the consequences of their unchecked generation: Nature

... would be quite surcharg'd with her own weight
And strangl'd with her waste fertility.

The second set of parallels (II) lists, on the left, odors, fruits, and flocks; the effect of their unrestrained procreation would be the cumbering of the earth. If there is placed in III the line deleted from the Trinity College MS adding fowl and cattle to Nature's gifts, the results of uncontrolled reproduction in these creatures may be found in the following lines:

... the wing'd air dark't with plumes,
The herds would over-magnitude their Lords.

In IV are mentioned the "spawn innumerable" which throng the sea; if their increase were not curbed, Comus argues, "The Sea o'refraught would swell"—that is, with myriads of full-grown sea-creatures.⁶ For the fifth item in the left column, there is no counterpart. When the modern reader arrives at VI and realizes that he is now asked to believe that inanimate minerals multiply through the biological process of reproduction, he may think my assumption of parallels arbitrary. But following Comus' argument would have presented no difficulty to the seventeenth-century reader; he knew that gems, stones, and ore reproduce just as do plants and animals. Pliny,

⁶ John Milton, "The Trinity College Manuscript," pp. 10-27, reproduced in photographic facsimile in *John Milton's Complete Poetical Works*, ed. Harris Francis Fletcher, I, 398-432. All future references will be to Trinity College MS by page and line number.

⁶ Trinity College MS, p. 22, lines 5-6, has:
sea ' swell
... the ore o'refraught would heave her waters up
above the shoare and. . . .

The italicized words were deleted.

still an authority on natural history in Milton's day, speaks more than once of this faculty of growth in minerals and gems.

Theophrastus and Mucianus are of the opinion that there are certain stones which bring forth other stones.⁷ "New species of precious stones are repeatedly brought into existence, and fresh ones are found all at once destitute of names."⁸ Barstock and Riley, in their translation of Pliny, observe:

Democritus, amongst the ancients, and Savonarola and Cardan, in more recent times, have attributed to stones the power of reproduction. Vivès speaks of certain diamonds which conceive and fructify. . . . Tournefort also entertained similar opinions.⁹

According to John Mandeville, diamonds "growen togedre male & femele. . . . And thei engendren comounly & bryngen forth smale children that multiplyen & growen all the yeer."¹⁰ Milton is known to have read *A Greene Forest* (1567) by John Maplet,¹¹ in which I find no fewer than ten references to stones and gems multiplying.¹²

The sixth parallelism, in the light of this knowledge, now appears credible. A clear understanding of the passage, however, depends upon the solution of several enigmas. Where is "the Deep"? Comus avers that gems are "hutch't" in Nature's "own loyns." Is it not reasonable to identify Nature's "loyns" as the interior of the earth? The Trinity College MS reveals that the two lines

would so emblaze the forehead of y^e deepe
and so bestudie wth starres y^t they below

were substituted for the lines

would so be studde the center wth thire starrelight
were they not taken thence that they below.¹³

It is obvious that "bestudde wth starres" attempts to convey the same idea as "be studde . . . wth thire starrelight"; it can be seen that "the forehead of y^e deepe" takes the place of "the center." It is perhaps not so obvious that in making the latter substitution, Milton, as I shall show, refined the meaning of the metaphor. What did Milton intend by "the center"? Does the sea have a center? Does the surface of the earth have a center? For either, certainly, such a center would be hard to locate. But, then, does the earth, considered as a spherical body, have a center? Milton affirms its existence when, in describing the battle in heaven, he writes:

⁷ C. Plinius, *The Natural History of Pliny*, tr. John Barstock and H. T. Riley (London, 1857), VI, 358.

⁸ *Ibid.*, VI, 461. For a very common variety of stone see VI, 354.

⁹ *Ibid.*, VI, 358 n.

¹⁰ Mandeville's *Travels*, ed. P. Hamelius (London, 1919), p. 105.

¹¹ *Vide*: Kester Svendsen, "Milton and the Encyclopedias of Science," *Studies in Philology*, XXXIX (1942), 303 ff.

¹² John Maplet, *A Greene Forest* (London, 1567), reprinted by W. H. Davies (London, 1930), pp. 4, 12, 14, 17, 22, 32, 33, 35-36, 38.

¹³ Trinity College MS, p. 22, lines 7-8.

. . . all Heav'n
Resounded, and had Earth bin then, all Earth
Had to her Center shook. (P.L., VI, 217-19)

In his magnificent description of the creation, he says:

And Earth self-ballanc't on her Center hung.
(P.L., VII, 242)

Describing the terrors of the Judgment Day in *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity*, he is even more definite.

The aged Earth agast
With terrour of that blast,
Shall from the surface to the center shake.
(Lines 160-62)

And in *Comus* there is additional evidence:

He that has light within his own clear brest
May sit i'th center, and enjoy bright day,
But he that hides a dark soul, and foul thoughts
Benighted walks under the mid-day Sun;
Himself is his own dungeon. (Lines 380-84)

"The center," in other words, "the Deep," is unquestionably the center of the earth. Notice, however, that it is not the diamonds which are located in the center but the light emanating from them, the "starrelight." Notice, too, that if the light increases, "they below" will be exposed to it and will become "inur'd" to it.¹⁴ "They below," then, dwell in the hollow interior of the earth. The meaning of the phrase "the forehead of the Deep" can now be discerned. If the earth is a hollow sphere, a shell, and the light from diamonds in the ground can be seen from the center of the sphere, where must the diamonds be located? There can be but one answer: they must be located on the inner surface of the shell of the sphere. This inner surface, therefore, is the "forehead of the Deep." The fitness of the phrase "bestudd with Stars" can now be appreciated. To an observer situated in the interior of a hollow sphere, diamonds jutting from the inner surface would have not only the appearance but also the position of stars as dwellers on earth see them.

One question is still unanswered. Who are "they below"? A careful study of the text of *Comus* will reveal that an overwhelming majority of the poem's allusions are drawn from Greek and Roman mythology. I should like to call attention to that portion of ancient legend, as it is revealed in *Comus*, which deals with the underworld. In the following lines, Milton speaks of the division of the universe by Jove, Neptune, and Pluto:

¹⁴ That precious stones are capable of illuminating pitch darkness might be doubted by modern readers unfamiliar with John Maplet. *Vide: A Greene Forest*, pp. 17-18.

Neptune besides the sway
 Of every salt Flood, and each ebbing stream,
 Took in by lot, 'twixt *high*, and *neather Jove*,
 Imperial rule of all the Sea-girt Iles. . . .
 (Lines 18-21; italics mine)

It is Pluto's realm which is of particular interest here. Its existence is not to be doubted; no less an authority than the Attendant Spirit, Jove's emissary, declares that

... 'tis not vain or fabulous,
 (Though so esteem'd by shallow ignorance)
 What the sage Poets taught by th' heav'ly Muse,
 Storied of old in high immortal vers
 Of dire *Chimera*'s and enchanted Iles,
 And rifted Rocks whose entrance leads to Hell,
 For such there be, but unbelief is blind.
 (Lines 512-18)

That the Elder Brother in *Comus* knows about and believes in the hell of classical mythology is evidenced by the lines:

But for that damn'd Magician, let him be girt
 With all the greisly legions that troop
 Under the sooty flag of *Acheron*,
Harpyes and *Hydra*'s or all the monstrous forms
 'Twixt *Africa* and *Inde*, Ile find him out. . . .
 (Lines 601-05)

The "greisly legions that troop / Under the sooty flag of *Acheron*" are undoubtedly akin to those which inhabit the hell of *Paradise Lost*, the hell where

... Nature breeds,
 Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things,
 Abominable, inutterable, and worse
 Than Fables yet have feign'd, or fear conceiv'd,
Gorgons and *Hydra*'s, and *Chimera*'s dire.
 (II, 624-28)

By these passages, I am convinced, the identity of "they below" is established. "They below" are the evil, hell-dwelling spirits, demons, and monsters of classic mythology. These monsters are not "inur'd to light"; they exist in the sulphurous gloom of the underworld. Light—especially sunlight—was to Milton the living symbol of goodness and purity. In her argument with Comus, the Lady speaks of "the Sun-clad power of Chastity" (line 781).

Comus' sixth parallel may now be reconstructed. If the precious gems which are stored by Nature deep in the earth were allowed to generate unchecked by man's use of them, the unsought diamonds would multiply to such an extent that they would crop out on the forehead of the deep (the interior surface of the hollow earth) and by their starlike sparkling make such an intense light that the evil

creatures of hell would become accustomed to brilliance and thus able to look shamelessly upon the sun. And the concept of troops of demons coming out of the foulness of hell to mingle with mankind provides a fit climax for Comus' argument against abstinence.

University of Illinois

SOME SIDE LIGHTS ON THE THEORY OF THE GOTHIC ROMANCE

By ARTHUR L. COOKE

During the past thirty years there has been a great revival of interest in the Gothic romance. Its historical development and its chief characteristics have been investigated by a number of modern scholars; and the major principles of the theory upon which the genre was founded have been delineated by such authors as J. B. Heidler, Montague Summers, and others.¹ Yet, although the general outline of the theory of Gothic romance is well known to all students of the eighteenth century, there are a number of minor aspects of that theory which have as yet received little or no attention. The purpose of this paper is to present a few of these neglected "side lights" which might prove of interest to scholars in this field.

First, however, it might be well to review very briefly the main theory of the Gothic romance before proceeding to its minor aspects. As Horace Walpole stated in his Preface to the second edition of *The Castle of Otranto* (1765), "It was an attempt to blend the two kinds of romance, the ancient and the modern." In the events of his narrative Walpole tried to incorporate those elements of the supernatural and marvelous which had been a prominent feature of the medieval romance; but in the delineation of his characters and their reaction to those events he attempted to preserve the realism of the modern novel. Thirteen years later, Clara Reeve modified this general principle somewhat in her Preface to *The Old English Baron*, published in 1778. Miss Reeve felt that Walpole had been too violent in his use of the supernatural; therefore she counseled more restraint in this respect and advocated only "a sufficient degree of the marvellous to excite attention" combined with "enough of the manners of real life, to give an air of probability to the work; and enough of the pathetic, to engage the heart in its behalf."² Thus she would unite the marvelous features of the medieval romance with the realism of the contemporary novel of manners and the pathos of the sentimental novel. Miss Reeve's disparagement of the supernatural led to the development of two conflicting schools of thought in the latter part of the century: on the one side, there were those who wished to minimize the supernatural element, and who therefore admired Mrs. Radcliffe's device of the

¹ J. B. Heidler, *The History, from 1700 to 1800, of English Criticism of Prose Fiction*, University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, XIII, No. 2 (May, 1928); Montague Summers, *The Gothic Quest* (London, 1938). See also Edith Birkhead, *The Tale of Terror* (London, 1921); Eino Railo, *The Haunted Castle* (London, 1927); and Clara F. McIntyre, "Were the 'Gothic Novels' Gothic?" *PMLA*, XXXVI (1921), 644-67.

² Clara Reeve, *The Old English Baron* (Chiswick, 1823), p. 5.

explained supernatural; and on the other side, there were those who went even further than Walpole in their use of the avowed supernatural, and who therefore admired such works as Lewis' *Monk*. Both schools, however, adhered to the basic doctrine of combining marvelous and terrible events with realistic depiction of character so as to unite the chief features of the ancient romance and the modern novel.

Such, in briefest outline, were the general principles of Gothic theory, which can be found more fully delineated in the works of several modern scholars. Let us now turn to some of those particular aspects of this theory which have as yet been given little if any notice by such scholars, and which form the special interest of this paper.

The first of these neglected "side lights" was the attempt to justify the Gothic romance according to the classic Aristotelian principle of catharsis through pity and fear. Walpole himself gave the initial suggestion for this defense of the genre in his Preface to the first edition of *Otranto*. Pretending that his romance was only a translation of a sixteenth-century Italian work, he went on to make the following comment:

The rules of the drama are almost observed throughout the conduct of the piece. The characters are well drawn, and still better maintained. Terror, the author's principal engine, prevents the story from ever languishing; and it is so often contrasted by pity, that the mind is kept up in a constant vicissitude of interesting passions.³

Yet, although Walpole claimed that terror and pity gave a heightened interest to his romance, he did not proceed to the further argument that he had used these two elements in such a way as to achieve the effect of Aristotelian catharsis. This further step was taken six years later by that ardent old classicist Bishop William Warburton in a passage which he added to the notes of his edition of Pope's works:

We have lately been entertained with what I will venture to call, a master piece in the *Fable*; and of a new species likewise. The piece I mean, is THE CASTLE OF OTRANTO. The scene is laid in *Gothic Chivalry*. Where a beautiful imagination, supported by strength of judgment, has enabled the Author to go beyond his subject, and effect the full purpose of the *ancient Tragedy*; that is, to purge the passions by pity and terror, in colouring as great and harmonious as in any of the best Dramatic Writers.⁴

Thus was the Gothic romance justified, according to Warburton, by the same principles as the classic drama; and the weird literary brain-child of Horace Walpole was given shelter under the broad aegis of

³ Horace Walpole, *Works*, 5 vols. (London, 1798), II, 4.

⁴ *Works of Alexander Pope, Containing the Principal Notes of Drs. Warburton and Warton*, ed. William Lisle Bowles (London, 1806), IV, 184 n. This note was added by Warburton to his edition of Pope's works, in the reprint of 1770. It was appended in that year as a final passage to the long footnote on romance which Warburton had originally written as a preface for Richardson's *Clarissa*, and then later printed as a footnote in his edition of Pope.

Aristotle. It is somewhat strange that none of the later champions of the Gothic genre seems to have used this argument in its defense; nor did any hostile critics take the trouble to refute it. One would think that, since the Gothic romance was based so largely on terror and pity, many neoclassic critics would have hastened to compare and contrast the use of these two elements in Gothic story with their use in classic drama. This interesting question, however, seems to have received no further notice at all, either from eighteenth-century authors or from modern scholars.

Another neglected point in the development of Gothic theory can be found in Dr. John Aikin's essay "On the Pleasure Derived from Objects of Terror," which was published in 1773.⁵ Several modern scholars have given passing notice to this essay, but none of them has pointed out that Aikin was the first critic to justify the Gothic romance by giving a careful analysis of the differences between the terror which is aroused by natural agencies and that which is derived from the supernatural. In commencing his discussion, Aikin drew a clear distinction between objects of pity and objects of terror. The pleasure we derive from the "view of human afflictions" might be explained, he said, by the sense of self-approbation which attends upon virtuous sympathy. But this explanation, he continued, would not account for "the apparent delight with which we dwell upon objects of pure terror, where our moral feelings are not in the least concerned."⁶ In some instances this delight might be attributed to mere curiosity, which often made us eager to go on with a story and, as he put it, "rather choose to suffer the smart pang of a violent emotion than the uneasy craving of an unsatisfied desire." Curiosity alone, however, could not explain the pleasure we take in the scenes of terror found in the great literary masterpieces of the past, where we know what the final outcome will be, yet often find pleasure in rereading the work. In these instances, Aikin believed, the reader would find that those scenes of terror which gave him pleasure were always connected with marvelous or supernatural events, whereas those which gave him pain or revulsion were derived from natural events. The reason for this he explained as follows:

A strange and unexpected event awakens the mind, and keeps it on the stretch; and where the agency of invisible beings is introduced, of "forms unseen, and mightier far than we," our imagination, darting forth, explores with

⁵ John Aikin and Anna Laetitia Aikin (Mrs. Barbauld), *Miscellaneous Pieces of Prose* (London, 1773). The passages quoted above are from the third edition of this work (London, 1792). There is some dispute as to whether Dr. Aikin or Mrs. Barbauld was the author of this particular essay. Both Montague Summers and Edith Birkhead attribute it to Mrs. Barbauld. On the other hand, Miss Lucy Aikin did not include it in her edition of Mrs. Barbauld's works (1825), which was supposed to contain that authoress's "entire share of the *Miscellaneous Pieces in Prose* written by herself and her brother conjointly." Since the essay was omitted from this collection, it would seem probable that it was written by Dr. Aikin.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

rapture the new world which is laid open to its view, and rejoices in the expansion of its powers. Passion and fancy elevate the soul to its highest pitch; and the pain of terror is lost in amazement.

Hence, the more wild, fanciful, and extraordinary are the circumstances of a scene of horror, the more pleasure we receive from it; and where they are too near common nature, though violently borne by curiosity through the adventure, we cannot repeat it or reflect on it, without an over-balance of pain.⁷

To illustrate his argument, Aikin asked the reader to contrast the scenes of supernatural terror in *The Castle of Otranto* with the scene of natural terror in Smollett's *Ferdinand, Count Fathom*, where the hero takes refuge in a lonely house in a forest and finds the corpse of a recently murdered man in the bedroom which he has been assigned for the night. "It may be amusing," said Aikin, "for the reader to compare his feelings upon these [scenes], and from thence form his opinion of the justness of my theory."

Of course it is obvious that Dr. Aikin was considerably indebted to such earlier writers as Dennis, Burke, and Bishop Hurd for many of his ideas.⁸ Yet his contribution was an important one, for he was the first to apply to the new Gothic genre those theories of terror which earlier critics like Dennis and Burke had developed in their discussion of the sublime. Horace Walpole had given considerable attention to the use of the marvelous, but he had said very little to justify his use of the terrible. Aikin came forward with a psychological analysis of the element of terror. Like Burke, he pointed out the advantages to be gained by combining the marvelous with the terrible, and he gave critical sanction and justification to that particular type of supernatural terror which was such an outstanding feature of the Gothic romance. Consequently, his place in the development of Gothic theory is an important one, and he deserves more attention than modern scholars have accorded him.⁹

A third side light on the theory of Gothic romance appears in the Preface to Clara Reeve's *Memoirs of Sir Roger de Clarendon* (1793). Miss Reeve had already contributed to Gothic theory in her Preface to *The Old English Baron* (1778), and had surveyed the history of prose fiction in her *Progress of Romance* (1785). But since the publication of these earlier works the French Revolution had broken out, and all Europe was reverberating with the violent actions and

⁷ Aikin, *Miscellaneous Pieces of Prose*, pp. 125-26.

⁸ See John Dennis' discussion of the element of terror in *Grounds of Criticism in Poetry* (1704). Burke gave a fuller treatment of the subject in his *Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1756), and Hurd emphasized the use of Gothic terror in his *Letters on Chivalry and Romance* (1762).

⁹ For instance, in his *History, from 1700 to 1800, of English Criticism of Prose Fiction*, J. B. Heidler makes no mention of John Aikin or of this essay on terror, although he does mention Mrs. Barbauld's essay "On Romances," from this same volume, an essay which is almost entirely a reiteration of Dr. Johnson's opinions on that subject as expressed in No. 4 of *The Rambler*. Montague Summers devotes a brief paragraph to the essay in his *Gothic Quest*, attributing it to Mrs. Barbauld.

radical ideas of the Revolutionists. Miss Reeve, now a spinster of nearly seventy, was definitely alarmed by the innovations and cataclysmic changes brought about by the Revolution. A strong admirer of the *ancien régime*, she viewed the new doctrines with horror; and in her Preface to the *Memoirs of Sir Roger de Clarendon*, she pointed out what no one seems to have remarked upon before: that the Gothic romance was admirably calculated to serve as an antidote to the new philosophy by presenting a glorification of the manners and customs of medieval times. This, she stated, was the purpose of her own narrative:

to give a faithful picture of a well governed kingdom, wherein a true subordination of ranks and degrees was observed, and of a great prince at the head of it.

The new philosophy of the present day avows a leveling principle, and declares that a state of anarchy is more beautiful than that of order and regularity. There is nothing more likely to convince mankind of the errors of these men, than to set before them examples of good government, and warnings of the mischievous consequences of their own principles.¹⁰

Miss Reeve ended by saying that she hoped her narrative would stimulate a few readers to imitate the virtues of olden days, and would convince them that the new ideas of the French Revolutionists were not as well founded as many people believed. Thus she attempted to convert the Gothic romance into a weapon of propaganda against the doctrines of the French Revolution and to make it the conservative and romantic counterpart of the contemporary, realistic novel of purpose, which was being currently used to propagandize the new radical ideas. Miss Reeve's example, however, was not followed by many other authors. The romance writers of the 1790's were more interested in terrifying their readers than in glorifying the old order of things; and the task of opposing the doctrines of the Revolution was left to other hands. Yet, although it bore little fruit in its own day, Miss Reeve's theory is interesting, since it foreshadowed that deliberate idealization of feudal times which we find later in the romances of Sir Walter Scott.

A fourth aspect of Gothic theory that has received little attention so far is the manner in which the basic appeal of the Gothic romance was changed when the device of the explained supernatural was introduced. In the earlier Gothic romances all the supernatural elements had been supposedly genuine. The author did not feel called upon to explain his ghostly agencies; they were used solely to add terror and mystery to the narrative, and their appeal was entirely to the imagination of the reader, not to his intellect. With the introduction of the explained supernatural, however, this basic appeal was considerably changed. In the first place, of course, the new device was gratifying to the rational eighteenth-century reader because it gave him all the pleasure of preternatural terrors without offending his reason. But

¹⁰ Clara Reeve, *Memoirs of Sir Roger de Clarendon* (London, 1793), I, xvi-xvii.

far more important was the fact that it offered his mind an intricate rational puzzle which challenged his intellectual powers. Since the reader knew that the apparently supernatural effects were really due to natural causes, his chief interest lay, not in the terror of these effects, but rather in the problem of seeing whether he could detect their true explanation. Thus the Gothic romance was transformed from a kind of ghost story into a kind of elaborate brain teaser, a sort of battle of wits between the author and the reader. The *Critical Review* realized this fact and pointed it out in its comments on Mrs. Radcliffe's *Mysteries of Udolpho* in 1794:

mysterious terrors are continually exciting in the mind the idea of a supernatural appearance, keeping us, as it were, upon the very edge and confines of the world of spirits, and yet are ingeniously explained by familiar causes; curiosity is kept upon the stretch from page to page, and from volume to volume, and the secret, which the reader thinks himself every instant on the point of penetrating, flies like a phantom before him, and eludes his eagerness till the very last moment of protracted expectation. This art of escaping the guesses of the reader has been improved and brought to perfection along with the reader's sagacity; just as the various inventions of locks, bolts, and private drawers, in order to secure, fasten, and hide, have always kept pace with the ingenuity of the pick-pocket and housebreaker, whose profession it is to unlock, unfasten, and lay open what you have taken so much pains to conceal. In this contest of curiosity on one side, and invention on the other, Mrs. Radcliffe has certainly the advantage. She delights in concealing her plan with the most artificial contrivance, and seems to amuse herself with saying, at every turn and doubling of the story, "now you think you have me, but I shall take care to disappoint you."¹¹

In this way, the explained supernatural afforded an interest which the avowed supernatural did not possess. It aroused the curiosity of the reader, challenged him to find the key to the mystery, and changed the appeal of the Gothic romance from that of the traditional ghost story to something very like that of the modern detective story.

A fifth interesting minor aspect of Gothic theory was Nathan Drake's attempt to revive what he called the "sportive" branch of medieval superstition.¹² In his essay "On Gothic Superstition," published in 1798 as part of a collection entitled *Literary Hours*, Drake pointed out that the eighteenth-century romance writers had made use of only one branch of the Gothic supernatural, employing only those effects which were productive of terror or horror. There was, he added, an entirely different branch of medieval superstition which had so far been disregarded by contemporary writers; and he went on to distinguish the two branches as follows:

although this kind of superstition be able to arrest every faculty of the human mind, and to shake, as it were, all nature with horror, yet does it also delight in the most sportive and elegant imagery. The traditional tales of elves and fairies

¹¹ *Critical Review*, 2nd series, XI (1794), 361-62.

¹² Montague Summers gives a discussion of Drake's work in *The Gothic Quest*, pp. 49-55, but he gives almost no attention to this particular aspect of Drake's theories.

still convey to a warm imagination an inexhausted source of invention, supplying all those wild, romantic, and varied ideas with which a wayward fancy loves to sport.¹³

This "sportive" branch of the Gothic supernatural, as Drake pointed out, had been employed effectively by Chaucer, Spenser, and Shakespeare; yet eighteenth-century critics and romancers had paid it almost no attention and had devoted themselves solely to the more fearful aspects of medieval superstition. Drake felt that the lighter supernatural offered equally great opportunities to the writer of romance, and that possibly a combination of the two would produce an even stronger effect than the use of either alone. No one had yet attempted such a combination, and consequently Drake himself proceeded to try his hand at it in a Gothic tale entitled "Henry Fitzowen," which immediately followed his essay. In this narrative he first subjected his hero to all the most terrible supernatural effects in the typical Gothic fashion and then transported him to a beautiful and peaceful scene in which fairies and elves took the place of spectres and demons. The success of his effort is open to question, and few of the romancers of his day attempted to follow his example. Nevertheless, although his essay cannot be said to have had very much effect upon the actual practice of the Gothic romance, it certainly deserves recognition as an interesting contribution to the theory of the genre.

In conclusion, it might be pointed out that, despite the obvious shortcomings of the Gothic romance, at least some critics of the time realized that the genre had higher potentialities even than those which had been displayed by Mrs. Radcliffe. Modern scholars have been inclined to emphasize the critical revolt against the Gothic romance in the closing years of the eighteenth century. Naturally the flood of mediocre Gothic tales which poured from the press in the 1790's drew a great deal of hostile criticism. Yet it is interesting to find, in the following passage from the *Critical Review* in 1795, an almost prophetic recognition of the higher possibilities of this type of fiction:

Properly directed [this type of curiosity] may conduct from the infantine examination into the inside of a rattle or the spring of a Dutch toy, to investigations and discoveries the most important and useful:—or the imagination early exercised by pursuing, with interest, unusual or even extravagant combinations and adventures, unexpected coincidences, and extraordinary denouements, may at length take bolder and more successful flights, and form the poetic genius, that—

"in a fine frenzy

Glances from earth to heav'n, from heav'n to earth,
... and gives to airy nothing

A local habitation and a name."¹⁴

Thus, during the height of the Gothic vogue, the *Critical Review* pointed out the more lofty possibilities of the Gothic romance; and

¹³ Nathan Drake, *Literary Hours or Sketches Critical and Narrative*, 2nd ed. (Sudbury, 1800), I, 138.

¹⁴ *Critical Review*, 2nd series, XV (1795), 120.

its prophecy was amply fulfilled in later years by such works as "Christabel," "The Ancient Mariner," "Marmion," "Manfred," and "La Belle Dame Sans Merci."

These are a few of the minor aspects of Gothic theory which should be of interest to students of the eighteenth century. Little attention has so far been given to them by modern scholars. Yet they deserve some consideration; for they serve to fill in the details of the general theory of Gothic romance, and each of them throws an interesting side light on one of the most important developments of literature in the later eighteenth century.

University of Kentucky

COLERIDGE'S USE OF THE BALLAD STANZA IN "THE RIME OF THE ANCIENT MARINER"

By TRISTRAM P. COFFIN

In the telling of a supernatural story such as "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner" it is generally recognized that the poet must utilize an anchor to reality which will serve to maintain the reader's "suspension of disbelief" throughout the work. In this particular poem the use of such devices as the wedding-day setting and the appeal of the old sailor to human sympathy are clearly designed to serve Coleridge in such a capacity. However, more subtle and more continual and eventually more effective is the steady rhythm of the ballad which beats objectively behind every scene and every event. The ballad is associated with actual events. Thus, ballad meter serves to make this weird story possible to believe; it is appropriate to the material of the narrative and to the old man who tells the tale in the poem. Thus, ballad devices serve to augment the supernatural and imaginative mood of the story; they channel the reader's emotions with as deft and artistic touch as can be desired. And, thus, the ballad stanza itself suggests a medieval setting and an account of human woe almost before the words themselves can.

It is odd, however, that although this poem has been studied and restudied no critic to my knowledge has ever grasped the full significance of Coleridge's use of the ballad stanza with respect to the over-all architecture of the poem. In fact, "The Ancient Mariner" has been greatly ignored in this one respect. Warren and Brooks state typically in their text, *Understanding Poetry*, that Coleridge, "feeling that the consistent use of the ballad stanza in a poem as long as this would be monotonous, has varied the stanza form."¹ Such an unfortunate statement, while in a very narrow sense correct, is not adequate or comprehensive. There is so much more to the question. It is time someone explored this aspect of the work.

Phillips Barry once wrote in another connection that

there are three common forms of the ballad-type of melody. In the first the rhythmical scheme provides for the repetition, twice, of the final syllable of the fourth line of each stanza, followed by the repetition of the last line entire. In the second . . . the scheme requires that the final syllable of the fourth line be repeated but once, before being followed by the repetition of the whole line. The third form calls for the repetition of the last two lines of each stanza. The irregularity of the ballad stanza, imitated by Coleridge on the precedent of examples in *Percy's Reliques*, is a minor accident, not of folk tradition, but of literary tradition. The early collectors did not record the music. Now it is well

¹ Cleanth Brooks and Robert Penn Warren, *Understanding Poetry* (New York, 1938), p. 68.

known that, though music will carry a singer over spots where his memory of the text is weak, the attempt to recite will leave gaps, due to the loss of occasional lines, gaps which the reciter or the collector will try to bridge by running parts of the two stanzas into one. The result will be the intrusion into the text of stanzas of five or six lines, instead of four, of the sort so common in the early records of the popular ballads.²

It is the systematic use that Coleridge made of these accidental variations from the usual ballad paragraph that I intend to discuss. Even a short glance at the text of the poem tells us that Coleridge employed the physical make-up of his stanzas studiedly and carefully to further the dramatic impact and emotional overtones of his narrative.

Remembering that the basic pattern for "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner" is the "ballad stanza" or the *a b c b* rimed, alternating 4-3 stress quatrain, let us now turn to the poem itself³ to see in what way variations from this norm or "anchor to reality" are utilized.

At the opening of the poem, where Coleridge is trying to establish his mood of supernaturalism with sufficient realism to make the setting and events vivid for the reader, the normal stanzaic form of the ballad is maintained carefully in order to fix it firmly in one's mind and give the proper atmosphere of possibility and naturalness to the verse. And this basic structure is not disturbed at all until the twelfth stanza where a variation of *a a b c b* is introduced, after the realistic anchor for the mind of the reader has been fully lodged. This fact is in itself significant, but it becomes doubly so when we realize that this variation comes just after the Wedding-Guest has made his last serious objection and the narration of the voyage is really beginning to get underway.

What then happens when the poet breaks the established norm at this point? Is it purposeful, or is it, as Coleridge no doubt thought it to be in the native ballad, an inconsistency caused by the spontaneity of composition? The answer is that it is purposeful and serves to make more poignant for the reader the meaning of the words at this point. By using an expansion of the stanza, which was quite common to the ballads he knew, consciously just as the ship is driven from the known course into the mystery of the polar regions, the author gently channels our ears and eyes away from the expected into a consistent, but different, realm, yet a realm that is never so vastly different that the basic pulse of the ballad beat is destroyed or the "anchor dislodged." Actually Stanza 12 remains an *a b c b* stanza, but the triple reiteration of the *a*-rime line gives a fresh effect.

² Phillips Barry, *British Ballads from Maine* (New Haven, 1929), p. 128.

³ It is, of course, true that the poem appeared in a variety of forms during Coleridge's life. However, the use made of ballad stanza variation, although somewhat different in arrangement, is the same in over-all use in the 1798 edition as it is in that of 1834. I have concentrated on the 1834 text in this paper because that edition is the popularly accepted one. However, what I say is generally applicable to all the texts.

With sloping masts and dipping prow,
 As who pursued with yell and blow
 Still treads the shadow of his foe,
 And forward bends his head,
 The ship drove fast, loud roared the blast,
 And southward aye we fled.

Now this technique is not used carelessly at all throughout the entire poem. A general survey of the whole will show that the preponderance of distorted stanzas occurs in the middle portions where the feeling of the supernatural is at its height, and that in the early parts, where the ship is nearer port and the events more usual, the distorted stanzas are far fewer. A consultation of the chart at the end of this analysis will illustrate this point graphically. There is but one distorted stanza in Part I, two in Parts II and VI, where the events are of a less climactic nature, and seven, six, ten, and eight in Parts III, IV, V, and VII respectively, where the weirdness reaches its peak. It is also significant that during the final four stanzas of the poem, where the spell is broken by the utterance of a moral, the lines are in the strictest ballad stanza form.

One distorted stanza of Part II is the third, in which the *a b c b* scheme is lengthened by the repetition of the thought and rime of the *c b* lines through what amounts to a second set of *c b*.

And I had done a hellish thing,
 And it would work 'em woe;
 For all averred, I had killed the bird
 That made the breeze to blow.
 Ah wretch! said they, the bird to slay
 That made the breeze to blow!

And, even though these two added lines do not further the relation of the story, they do serve to heighten the emotion and the lyric quality of the poem at a moment when a note of foreboding has entered the narrative. The actual shooting of the bird, a brutally real event, is told by the normal *a b c b* stanza, while the statement of the sin is in distorted form. It is, of course, fitting that the realism of the rest of Part II should be regular.

In Part III, where the effects of the sin are beginning to take toll on the ship, seven distorted stanzas occur in seventeen. When the Mariner observes the spectre-bark crossing the sun, we find the basic structure expanded to what amounts to *a b a b c b*, the "second *a b*" lines serving as the intensifying lyrical element.

The western wave was all a-flame:
 The day was well nigh done!
 Almost upon the western wave
 Rested the broad bright sun;
 When that strange shape drove suddenly
 Betwixt us and the sun.

The other six variations in Part III carry on this same trend, appearing when the bark is first sighted and in the subsequent descriptions of the occupants of both boats. Coleridge, however, is careful to vary his pattern of distortion with each use in order that each paragraph may have fresh impact. Stanza 4 is *a b c c b* with the fourth line lyric. Stanza 5 has the same rime scheme, although the third line is used for emphasis. Other stanzas follow similar patterns. Stanza 14 can be considered a climax to the series of unearthly events in its *a a b c c b d d b* form and is the farthest removed from the normal quatrain of any portion of the poem. Immediately after this stanza the crew dies, and the effects of the supernatural occurrence begin.

In Part IV we have a momentary return to reality when the Mariner and the Wedding-Guest converse. During and immediately after this interruption the normal quatrain is in use, although distortions do return in the seventh and ninth stanzas as the narrative resumes full pace. The strange atmosphere is maintained in the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth stanzas in which the power of prayer comes to the seamen. Then, as the bird drops off the neck, the theme of the normal is echoed by a return to the standard stanza form.

Part V emphasizes at once the highly Christian mood of the phenomenal regeneration of faith in a use of distortions, and as the occurrences in the sky and the polar spirit come to the fore, we have a continual breaking of the ballad stanza form which dramatically involves even the dialogue between the Mariner and the Wedding-Guest—a part of the poem that has heretofore remained quite regular.

'I fear thee, ancient Mariner !
Be calm, thou Wedding-Guest !
'Twas not those souls that fled in pain,
Which to their corse came again,
But a troop of spirits blest :

However, despite the extreme number of variations in the section, the reader will notice a recurrence of the *a b c b* form, especially in narrative passages, in order to link these events to reality in a subtle fashion. And as the voices speak at the end of Part V and the start of Part VI, they are made to sound more real and vivid by the use of the normal stanza.

Finally, then, in Part VII this technical aspect of the poem is brought to its climax along with the narrative. As the Hermit approaches the ship and realizes that something is wrong, we get two echoing distortions.

'Strange, by my faith !' the Hermit said—
'And they answered not our cheer !
The planks looked warped ! and see those sails,
How thin they are and sere !
I never saw aught like to them,
Unless perchance it were

Brown skeletons of leaves that lag
 My forest-brook along :
 When the ivy-tod is heavy with snow,
 And the owlet whoops to the wolf below,
 That eats the she-wolf's young.'

Similar distortions occur when the stunning blow falls and the fated ship goes down and when the Pilot's boy goes mad with fear. Variations are also brought in as the Mariner tells of his spiritual agony and of the recurring necessity of reciting his weird story to the right man. But, as the poem slips back into the reality of its moral ending, we find an artistic rocking back and forth from distortion to normal stanzas until the latter is finally established and the tale ends.

Coleridge's over-all technique for distorting his ballad stanzas is another point that needs some consideration. I believe he received his inspiration for the method by which the quatrain is expanded from the ballad and its incremental repetition.⁴ His habit of inserting a lyric line that does little to further the narrative, but does intensify the mood of his story, is in truth a form of the repetitive increment. For example, Stanza 3 of Part II, which has already been quoted in another connection, contains the line "That made the breeze to blow" used once with the two lines which merely state the fact of the slaughter and again in the following pair where the emotion of the crew is injected into the narrative. The same technique, it will be observed, is repeated in the next stanza for a similar reason—to intensify emotion.

Nor dim nor red, like God's own head,
 The glorious sun uprist :
 Then all averred, I had killed the bird
 That brought the fog and mist.
 'Twas right, said they, such birds to slay,
 That bring the fog and mist.

And perhaps an even more vivid example is given in the very famous "Water, water every where" stanza in which the pitch of the irony is increased by the repetition of the one phrase.

In general, these are quite conventional uses of incremental repetition that can be found in almost any ballad, and, as such, are standard poetic tricks that warrant only passing mention here. However, Coleridge makes a particular and sophisticated employment of the method in many of his distorted stanzas.

It will be recalled that Coleridge does not use the fifth or sixth, etc., lines of his distorted stanza to further his narrative. Rather, he employs these lines as means of heightening the emotional impact of

⁴ Incremental repetition, which is discussed by George Lyman Kittredge in his Introduction to the Cambridge Edition of Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, is substantially the reiteration of a verse or stanza with the change of but a significant word or phrase. When this device is used throughout a choral work, it serves to build up a mood and poetic intensity.

the moment or to emphasize the weirdness of a particular situation. A close inspection of some of these distorted stanzas reveals a skillful use of what might be called "intellectual incremental repetition" to gain similar effects. In brief, the extra lines hold the narrative in suspense in order that the emotion contained in one, or two, lines of the normal *a b c b* stanza may be magnified by using idea, rather than phrase, echoes as would be the case in normal ballad incremental repetition.

In Part VI, Stanza 10,

Like one, that on a lonesome road
Doth walk in fear and dread,
And having once turned round walks on,
And turns no more his head;
Because he knows, a frightful fiend
Doth close behind him tread.

the final two lines are in no way necessary to the setting of the mood, and in truth serve only to intensify the feeling of the moment. Nevertheless, the repetition of the idea from the earlier pair of lines serves to create the "lingering and leaping" effect that is found in normal incremental repetition.

This very method is used frequently throughout the poem and can be reillustrated by reference to Stanza 18, Part V (*a b c b d b*), the final *d b* of which is merely a furtherance of the "pleasant sound" mood the sails have created.

It ceased; yet still the sails made on
A pleasant noise till noon,
A noise like of a hidden brook
In the leafy month of June,
That to the sleeping woods all night
Singeth a quiet tune.

Thus, we see that Coleridge has used a well-established ballad technique in a more cultured and intellectual way for what amounts to the same artistic purpose. While he never sets the actual tone of the moment in these extra lines of the distorted stanzas, the tenor of the poem as a whole reaches its extreme pitch through them in a fashion that would not be possible without them.

Unfortunately, all the stanzas are not as clear-cut as the two I have mentioned as illustrations. This does not mean, however, that many other distorted stanzas do not possess the same underlying principles. No artist as brilliant as Coleridge would give the student a complete set of perfect cases. Coleridge would, and does, blend the words of his extra lines into the regular four lines quite inseparably at times.

In Stanza 7 of Part IV, we find,

I closed my lids, and kept them close,
 And the balls like pulses beat;
 For the sky and the sea, and the sea and the sky
 Lay like a load on my weary eye,
 And the dead were at my feet.

where one of the *c c* lines is out of the normal pattern and yet cannot be subtracted from the stanza and leave meaning. But, through careful examination, we can see what actually takes place here. A line in native balladry is almost invariably a unit: that is, a clause or complete phrase. Lines 3 and 4 of this stanza are such a unit. This fact would seem to indicate that we have here an expansion of one line into two for the purpose of poetic intensification and that it is because of phrasing, not meaning, that it is impossible to reduce the stanza mechanically to its *a b c b* form. Such intensification is in truth little more than a further variation of intellectual incremental repetition. And it, too, is used to emphasize the mood of the poem, in this case to underline the extensive suffering.

Although I do not wish to belabor these points, for anyone can apply the principles to the various distorted and normal stanzas, it is worthwhile to note that this conscious expansion through intellectual incremental repetition is what takes place in the most distorted stanza of the entire poem: Stanza 14 in Part III.

We listened and looked sideways up!
 Fear at my heart, as at a cup,
 My life-blood seemed to sip!
 The stars were dim, and thick the night,
 The steersman's face by his lamp gleamed white;
 From the sails the dew did drip—
 Till climb above the eastern bar
 The horned moon, with one bright star
 Within the nether tip.

Here, however, the ideas of the lines are so completely interfused that it takes two steps to strip the stanza to the normal *a b c b* quatrain form that underlies it.

What we have here in the final form is an *a4, a4, b3, c4, c4, b3, d4, d4, b3* stanza, which in reality is an *a4, b3, c4, b3* stanza with the *a, c*, and *d* lines repeated. Disregarding the repetition, then, we see the normal ballad quatrain underneath the whole. The meanings of the various clauses are, of course, tightly knit, which makes it necessary to read the stanza as a unit. Such a reduction as that above is only possible in a structural sense. The rest is what I have termed intellectual incremental repetition, the sophistication of a standard device which makes our touch with reality seem weakest at this point in the poem through these intensifying phrases and emotional overflows.

For further and more convenient reference, I have charted the distorted stanzas of the poem under three headings below: those

stanzas with normal incremental repetition, those with pure intellectual incremental repetition, and finally those with blended intellectual incremental repetition. (See Chart II.) It must never be forgotten, however, that even the normal 4-line stanzas use these three devices. It is only where Coleridge has consciously allowed his artistry to break the restraining bonds of his established medium that we can appreciate the real skill behind the poet's art.

It is vital that the reader of "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner" keep in mind that the poem is always a literary ballad and that the origin of the poet's devices lies within the folk form. Those who remember these facts will gain a new pleasure from and respect toward this well-studied poem. Those who forget miss half the impact, half the architectural beauty, and half the genius of the whole, whatever else they find.

Chart I. Distorted Stanzas⁵

The letter represents the rime.

The number represents the number of stresses in the line.

Two letters hyphenated, *a-a*, represents internal rime.

Part I	Stanza 12	<i>a4,a4,a4,b3,c-c4,d3</i>
Part II	Stanza 3	<i>a4,b3,c-c4,b3,d-d4,b3</i>
	4	<i>a-a4,b3,c-c4,b3,d-d4,b3</i>
Part III	Stanza 1	<i>a4,b3,c4,b3,d4,b3</i>
	4	<i>a-a4,b3,c4,c4,b3</i>
	5	<i>a-a4,b3,c4,c4,b3</i>
	7	<i>a4,b3,c4,b3,d4,b3</i>
	10	<i>a4,b3,c4,c4,b3</i>
	11	<i>a4,b3,a4,a4,b3</i>
	14	<i>a4,a4,b3,c4,c4,b3,d4,d4,b3</i>
Part IV	Stanza 7	<i>a4,b3,c4,c4,b3</i>
	9	<i>a4,b3,c3,b3,d4,b3</i>
	11	<i>a4,b3,c4,c4,b3</i>
	12	<i>a4,b3,c4,c4,b3</i>
	13	<i>a4,b3,c4,c4,b3</i>
	14	<i>a4,b3,c4,b3,d4,b3</i>
Part V	Stanza 1	<i>a4,b3,c4,c4,b3</i>
	6	<i>a4,b3,c4,c4,b3</i>
	8	<i>a4,b3,c4,c4,b3</i>
	11	<i>a4,b3,c4,b3,d4,b3</i>
	13	<i>a4,b3,c4,c4,b3</i>
	16	<i>a4,b3,c4,c4,b3</i>
	18	<i>a4,b3,c4,b3,d4,b3</i>
	20	<i>a4,b3,c4,b3,d4,b3</i>
	21	<i>a4,b3,c4,b3,d4,b1</i>
	23	<i>a4,b3,c4,c4,b3</i>

⁵ It should be observed that all of these stanzas are basically *a4,b3,c4,b3* in structure.

Part VI	Stanza 10	a4,b3,c4,b3,d4,b3
	25	a4,b3,c4,b3,d4,b3
Part VII	Stanza 1	a-a4,b3,c4,c4,b3
	4	a4,b3,c4,b3,d4,b3
	5	a4,b3,c4,c4,b3
	9	a4,b3,a4,b3,a4,b3
	12	a4,b3,c4,b3,d-d4,b3
	17	a4,b3,c4,c4,b3
	18	a-a4,b3,c4,b3,d4,b3
	21	a4,b3,c4,c4,b3

Chart II. Distorted Stanzas

Containing normal incremental repetition: II, 3, 4; III, 1, 7; IV, 14; V, 6, 21.

Containing pure intellectual incremental repetition: III, 4, 5, 10, 11; IV, 12, 13; V, 8, 11, 18, 20; VI, 10, 25; VII, 1, 5, 9, 12, 17, 18.

Containing blended intellectual incremental repetition: I, 12; III, 14; IV, 7, 9, 11; V, 1, 13, 16, 23; VII, 4, 21.

Denison University

A NOTE ON GOETHE'S RELATIONS WITH LUKE HOWARD

By JOHN HENNIG

The chapter on Howard in Mr. D. F. S. Scott's book, *Some English Correspondents of Goethe* (London, 1949), has made a substantial contribution to our knowledge of Goethe's relations with the father of modern meteorology, because in it was published for the first time the letter through which, in compliance with Goethe's request of September 25, 1821, Hüttner obtained from Howard his autobiographical letter. The English original of Howard's letter seems to be lost, and Goethe's translation of it (first published in *Zur Naturwissenschaft*, II, 1) is the basis of all published biographies of Luke Howard.

Mr. Scott also republished the English translation of Goethe's poem in honor of Howard. The history of this poem has been traced in my paper "Goethe's Interest in British Meteorology" (*MLQ*, X [1949], 322-33). Mr. Scott pointed out that, since Goedecke, it has been stated again and again that the English translation of *Howards Ehrengedächtnis* was by Hüttner. This was stated even by G. Schmid in his *Goethe und die Naturwissenschaften* (Halle, 1940), pages 35 and 525. Also Professor Strich was not quite correct when saying that "the English translation of Goethe's poem was by Hüttner and Bowring" (*Goethe and World Literature* [London, 1949]), p. 99 f. It had been pointed out (WE, I, 35, 339) that the original poem was translated by Bowring; the verses "Wenn Gottheit Camarupa," added by Goethe at Hüttner's suggestion, however, were by Soane. Mr. Scott rightly suggests that the English translation of the notes on this poem (as published in *Zur Naturwissenschaft*, I, 4, 327 ff.) was by Hüttner. In fact, it will be shown that these notes were compiled by Hüttner.

On page 322 of my paper I said that v. d. Hellen, in a note in the *Jubiläumsausgabe*, II, 358, had stated that these notes were "nicht vom Dichter selbst verfaßt," because they were written in the third person. My remark that this postscript was "identical" with the enclosure date April 4, 1821, to the letter of Hüttner of April 3/4, 1821 (which the WE produced in 1910 in the *Nachträge* to its Section IV, Vol. 50) is not quite correct. When Hüttner was preparing the English translation of the complete version of *Howards Ehrengedächtnis* for publication in England, he appended a translation of the prose explanation which Goethe had supplied in that letter and added a short introduction to this explanation.

Mr. Scott suggested that the English translation of *Howards*

Ehrengedächtnis with the notes was republished by him for the first time from *Zur Naturwissenschaft*, I, 4. The following note by Schüddekopf in WE, IV, 50, 168, has scarcely been considered: "Die englische, um drei Strophen vermehrte Übersetzung von Howards Ehrengedächtnis (Zur Naturwissenschaft I, 3, 124 [recte I, 4, 322]) von Bowring erschien nach L. L. Mackalls Mitteilung in Gold's London Magazine Juli 1821, S. 59 ff." On September 25, 1821, Goethe thanked Hüttner for his message of July 3 which had contained "Monatsschrift London Magazine, Howards Ehrengedächtnis vollständig, Original und Übersetzung." Both the index to WE and Dr. Boyd (whose version of these words suggested that "3. Juli" was the date of that issue of *London Magazine*¹) assumed that this *London Magazine* was identical with that in which in 1826 Goethe read a review of Gower's translation of *Faust*. Accepting this assumption and then still unaware of Schüddekopf's note, I stated in my paper "Goethe's Interest in British Meteorology" and also in my paper "Early English Translations of Goethe's Essays on Byron" (MLR, XLIV [1949], 361) that I failed to trace the English translation of Goethe's poem in the *London Magazine*. I suggested that Hüttner sent Goethe on July 3 an issue of *London Magazine* and, as an independent item, a (manuscript) translation of *Howards Ehrengedächtnis*. I had some difficulty though in explaining what Goethe meant when, sending on October 24, 1822, the complete version of that poem with the English translation to Riemer for publication in *Zur Naturwissenschaft*, he said that he included "das englische Heft, woher ichs genommen habe."

In 1821 there existed two periodicals named *London Magazine*: the first was the one Goethe's interest in which has been studied in my paper "Early English Translations of Goethe's Essays on Byron," and the second, the *London Magazine and Monthly Critical and Dramatic Review*, in 1821 named *Gold's London Magazine*. *Howards Ehrengedächtnis* with the notes was published in English and German in the last issue of that latter periodical, which was one of the short-lived magazines in which that period was so rich. The set of this magazine owned by the British Museum was destroyed in the last war.² London University and Edinburgh University libraries own sets which end with the June, 1821, issue: the July issue should have started a new volume, and presumably was eventually lost, as it was not followed up and therefore never bound. A complete set is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Mr. Geoffrey Eliot Howard, chairman of Messrs. Howards &

¹ Goethe's *Knowledge of English Literature* (Oxford, 1932), p. 298 f.

² After writing the present article, Mr. D. F. S. Scott's note on my article "Early English Translations of Goethe's Essays on Byron" was published (MLR, XLV [1950], 519). Mr. Scott was unaware of the note in WE, IV, 50, 168, and did not succeed in tracing the issue of *Gold's London Magazine* in which *Howards Ehrengedächtnis* appeared.

Sons Ltd., Ilford, and great-grandson of Luke Howard, kindly informed me that translations of *Howards Ehrengedächtnis* other than that by Bowring and Soane have been made.⁸ Mr. G. E. Howard owns a translation made by John Eliot Howard, F.R.S., son of Luke Howard; and other translations have been made subsequently, including a very recent one made by a member of his staff for an American investigator of Howard's connection with Goethe. Mr. G. E. Howard further informed me that he does not know what has become of the original (or draft, if any) of Luke Howard's letter. He has, however, traced a letter which throws further light on Hüttner's relations with Howard.

It appears that Howard, when he received Hüttner's letter (now published by Mr. Scott), first considered Hüttner's request a hoax. He therefore approached William Allen, his former partner (who subsequently joined with the Hanbury family to form the firm of Allen & Hanbury), to sound Hüttner. Allen, a friend of the Duke of Kent and Trustee to the infant Princess Victoria, was apparently in a better position than Howard to obtain information on Hüttner, who at that time was official translator at the Foreign Office.

Stoke Newington 23 of 1 mo 1822

Dear Luke,

Although I hope to see thee here at 12 o'clock on fifth day next and have the pleasure of thy company to Dinner, I thought I would lose no time in informing thee that I saw Huttner yesterday and find that the thing is no Hoax— Goethe one of their very celebrated Poets at Weimar (I think) has a prodigious inclination to sing the Praises of thy Theory of Clouds— Huttner appears to be his humble Friend & Purveyor of news from England—he seems a very respectable man and I am glad in being acquainted with him as he may be at least useful to us in giving information respecting some parts of the Continent—I do hope that thou wilt call upon him as he is very anxious for it—he is very much confined in his office which he appears to be rather a subordinate one as Translator [sic] in Lord Castlereagh's Office which is on the left hand side in the Square in Downing Street— He seemed quite delighted when I gave him reason to hope that thou wouldest call upon him the first time thou went that way— I think it would be well if thou went to make his Friend a present through him of thy work on Meteorology—it would set them going in Germany & do good

I remain dear Luke's
affectionate Friend
W Allen

⁸ The German originals, followed by a literary translation of *Howards Ehrengedächtnis*, *Wohl zu merken*, and *Du Schüler Howards*, form the core of the chapter on "Goethe and Luke Howard" in Kurt Badt's book, *John Constable's Clouds* (London, 1950). Dr. Badt established that: (a) offprints of the essay on the modification of clouds in Tillock's *Philosophical Magazine* were obtained in 1832 by Howard for distribution among his friends; this offprint (see note 10 of my paper "Goethe's Interest in British Meteorology") is now extremely rare, but a reprint was made in 1894 at Berlin; (b) Gilbert's article in *Annalen der Physik*, XXXI (1815), 137-39, was not based on the original of Howard's essay but on a French translation. Goethe, however, proceeded from Gilbert's abstract to the original sources. Similarly, Goethe's interest in Robert

The words "Goethe one of their very celebrated Poets at Weimar (I think)" and "it would set them going in Germany & do good" are an interesting contribution to our knowledge of English knowledge of Germany at that time.

Considering the fact that Goethe not only appreciated Howard's scientific achievements but also spoke in affectionate terms of his personality and philosophy, I was particularly interested in the following additional information kindly supplied by Mr. G. E. Howard:

We have also various certificates of Luke Howard's election to scientific bodies in Germany, and a still more interesting relic in three magnificent Meissen vases made for Luke Howard by the King of Saxony in recognition of his work after the Napoleonic Wars in relieving the needs of the German peasantry.

Apart from bringing about the contact between Goethe and Howard, Hüttner made a significant contribution by compiling from Goethe's letter of April 3/4, 1821, the prose-note to the bilingual publication of *Howards Ehrengedächtnis in Gold's London Magazine*. On December 15, 1820, Hüttner had written to Goethe that he was trying "das herrliche Gedicht Howards Ehrengedächtnis so gut wie möglich anzulegen" (WE, IV, 34, 366). The words "so gut wie möglich" no doubt do not mean that he expected any financial return for this publication, but that he wanted to bring as adequately as possible to the attention of the British public what the German poet felt about the British scientist. Hüttner prefaced his translation of Goethe's "Erläuterung" by the following words:

Goethe having observed that something was really wanting to his poem, in honour of the celebrated Howard, to make it finished and intelligible, resolved to write three strophes as an introduction.

Goethe hatte bemerkt, daß wirklich etwas an seinem Gedicht zu Ehren Howards mangle und schrieb, um solches aufzuklären und zu vellenden, drei Strophen als Einleitung.

Goethe's "Erläuterung" had started:

Nachdem ich aufmerksam geworden, daß dem bewußten, Howards Ehrengedächtnis gewidmeten Gedicht wirklich etwas abgehe, um gerundet und verständlich zu sein, entschloß ich mich drei Strophen als Einleitung zu schreiben, wodurch zwar jedem Mangel wohl abgeholfen sein möchte, doch füge, um meine Absicht deutlicher zu erklären, noch einige Bemerkungen hinzu.

In Hüttner's version there follows a sentence inserted by Hüttner:

These three first strophes have not hitherto appeared in print, and it is from a strange chance only that they ever fell into our hand.

Die drei ersten Strophen waren bisher nicht gedruckt und sind nur durch ein günstiges Ereignis in unsere Hände gekommen.

Blair was evoked by Gilbert's translation of an abridgment of Blair's paper in *Nicholson's Journal of Natural Philosophy*, but Goethe went back to the original and prepared his own translation.

With regard to the subsequent literal transcription (and translation) of Goethe's "Erläuterung," we might note that the English words "(weaver of shapes at will)," added to the word *Camarupa* (omitted in Hempel's reprint), had been inserted by Goethe from Wilson's translation of *Megha-Duhta*. Goethe's studies of English works on oriental literature will be the subject of a special study. That Goethe republished the arrangement of his poem and notes prepared by Hüttner for *Gold's London Magazine* without any alteration, was a great tribute paid by him to the literary agent of the Weimar Court at London. It has been shown elsewhere how far Goethe and the Grand Duke of Weimar trusted Hüttner's sense of literary appreciation.⁴

The bilingual publication of *Howards Ehrengedächtnis* and the notes in *Gold's London Magazine* illustrates a high standard of English interest in German literature. The republication of the English translation side by side with the first print in Germany of the complete version of that poem and the notes in *Zur Naturwissenschaft*, I, 4, was a singular tribute to Howard.⁵ It also illustrates the conscientiousness of Goethe's interest in the English language.

Dublin, Co. Sutton, Ireland

⁴ See my paper "Goethe and Hüttner" in the forthcoming issue of *MLR*.

⁵ On other instances where Goethe placed his translation side by side with the English text, see my paper "Goethe and an English Critic of Manzoni," *Monatshefte*, XXXIX (1947), 7 ff.

GOETHE AND AN ELIZABETHAN POEM

By HAROLD JANTZ

In the literary life of Goethe there are a number of interesting little episodes which have never been adequately clarified. One of them, with which we are here concerned, is his translation of an English poem which he believed to be by Shakespeare, "My thoughts are winged with hopes, my hopes with love," in German "Hoffnung beschwingt Gedanken, Liebe Hoffnung." The Weimar edition¹ and various annotated editions of Goethe's works give reasonably good accounts of how a copy of the English version came to Goethe and aroused his admiration so that he proceeded forthwith to translate it. But nowhere apparently in Goethe literature is there any attempt to trace the poem to its English source or to establish the true nature of its origin. From the English side too, as we shall see, the possible implications of the version found in Germany have never been fully taken into account.

Even in James Boyd's careful summary, *Goethe's Knowledge of English Literature*,² the poem has not been identified; there is merely the designation of it as "pseudo-Shakespearian," without any indication as to whether it was, nevertheless, a genuine Elizabethan poem or one of the numerous English imitations or forgeries so prevalent in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. "Pseudo-Shakespearian" carries with it at least some implication of fraud, original or later, an implication which we shall see has not the slightest basis in fact. Up to a point Boyd offers a good summary of what has been known to German scholarship about the matter, though he unfortunately omits some of the known details which could be of help in establishing the relation of the German version to its English original. Let us first summarize the essential circumstances of Goethe's concern with the poem, in so far as they are generally known, and then proceed to probe more deeply into its origins and authenticity.

In a letter to his son August of March 18, 1818, Goethe requested him to thank the lady (not identified) from whom the "Shakespearian poem" had been received. In the first flush of enthusiasm Goethe believed that "it is certainly by him and thus quite glorious," and he was working hard at making a translation so that the others could share his enjoyment of it.³

Some six weeks later, on May 3, he noted in his diary: "the little Shakespearian poem,"⁴ and two years later he published his transla-

¹ W.A., I, 3, 46 and 387 f.

² Oxford, 1932, pp. 72-74; see also p. 79.

³ W.A., IV, 29, 87 f.

⁴ W.A., III, 6, 205.

tion in the periodical *Über Kunst und Alterthum*, under the title "Aus einem Stammbuch von 1604," with the attribution to Shakespeare. To the next number of the periodical he appended the following notice of the poem:

The poem on page 32 comes from an old album; it came to me in a copy; the name of Shakespeare is to be found under it, and to judge from the date it could well be in his handwriting. Perhaps an expert will inform us whether the poem is already to be found among the minor poems of Shakespeare, and where we can look for it; perhaps the owner of the album, who is unknown to me, will briefly tell us what he knows. The orthography of my copy is unusual, whether by accident of the copyist, or the original writer, or according to the style of that time, would then be revealed.⁵

The copy of the poem, then, which Goethe received bore the full name "Shakespeare"—Goethe still believed that it could be by him, but the cautious reserve with which he refrained from a direct attribution indicates that he was suspending judgment until more facts should be available. So far as we know, he never did learn any additional facts; we can only add that Goethe dropped the explicit attribution to Shakespeare when he published the poem in 1827 in the definitive edition, the "Ausgabe letzter Hand," though he did print it as the third member of a trilogy, paying tribute to the two paramount influences of his life, Charlotte von Stein and William Shakespeare.⁶

He does not seem to have known (certainly he did not know up to 1820) that some five weeks after he had received his manuscript copy of the poem, the English version was published in a weekly periodical, the *Wünschelruthe*, for April 27, 1818, as a contribution from the eminent librarian, Anglist, and Germanist at Göttingen, Georg Friedrich Benecke, with the following preliminary notice: "One of my friends a few weeks ago sent me the following poem which he had copied out of an old commonplace book in the Hamburg Library, the binding of which bears the date 1604. He could not describe the book more definitely. The poem is written in a neat Old-English hand." Then comes the poem. The course of our inquiry will make it necessary to have the text before us:⁷

⁵ Vol. 2, Pt. 3, pp. 32 f., and Vol. 3, Pt. 1, p. 56; see W.A., I, 41¹, 229.
⁶ III, 49-51.

⁷ *Wünschelruthe. Ein Zeitblatt*, No. 34, April 27, 1818, p. 134. The reprint of the poem in the Weimar edition (I, 3, 388) is not exact, though it is not seriously wrong except for the one disfiguring error of "shet" for "shed"; unimportant are "remain" for "remaine," "into" for "in to." I have corrected the two obvious errors of transcription in the *Wünschelruthe* version, putting "carye" for "rarye(?)" already suspect to Benecke, and "sighes" for "sights" (pace Benecke) since one form of the old "e" can easily be mistaken for a low "i" by a person not familiar with older English handwriting. I refrained from changing "seem" to "some" because "seem mistrust to carye" would be an alternate possibility. On the two other variants from the first printed version see text page 455 below. Benecke himself added the following note in conclusion: "Ein Paar Wörter scheinen Schreib- oder Lese-Fehler zu seyn,

My thoughts are winged with hopes, my hopes with love,
 Mount love unto the moone in clearest night
 And saie, as she doth in the heaven move
 In earth so wanes and waxeth my delight,
 And whisper this but softlie in her eares
 How ofte doubt hange the head and trust shed teares.

And you, my thoughts that seem mistrust do carye
 If for mistrust my mistris do you blame
 Saie, though you alter yett you do not varye
 As shee doth change and yett remaine the same.
 Distrust doth enter hertes but not infect
 And love is sweetest seasoned with suspect.

If shee, for this, with clouds do mask her eyes
 And make the heavens dark with her disdaine,
 With windie sighes disperse them in the skyes,
 Or with thy teares derobe them in to rayne.
 Thoughts, hopes and love returne to me no more
 Till Cinthia shyme as shee hath done before.

W. S.

It is quite certain that it is this version, from the commonplace book at the Hamburg library, of which Goethe received a copy, for Goethe translated the sixth line according to it: "Wie Zweifel oft das Haupt hing, Treue thrante." As we shall see, the other known versions read differently. The two discrepancies, Goethe's reference to the poem as coming from an album ("Stammbuch") rather than from a commonplace book ("Kollektaneenheft"), and his copy being subscribed "Shakespeare" rather than "W. S.", are both perhaps to be attributed to his intermediate transmitter, the unidentified lady. Benecke clearly had his manuscript directly from the discoverer and copier of the Hamburg version. The lady had possibly learned of the poem at some social gathering shortly after its discovery; there may well have been some lively speculation in regard to the author, and more than one person may have concluded that it might be, could be, must be by Shakespeare himself. The easier and more current word, "Stammbuch," was perhaps used to refer to the volume, and thus nothing could be more natural than that Goethe should receive the poem, at third hand, with these two "emendations." Benecke with cautious scholarly reticence does not offer the slightest suggestion that he thinks the initials "W. S." might be intended for William Shakespeare, though his contribution was given the challenging heading "Wer ist der unterzeichnete W. S.?"

und lassen sich vielleicht aus dem Originale verbessern; *sights* für *sighs* ist keiner, sondern der Sprache jener Zeit gemäß. —Ich habe übrigens das Gedicht selbst in Hinsicht auf Interpunction treulich mitgetheilt wie ich es erhalten habe."

The copy of the periodical in the Northwestern University Library has the "rarye" corrected in manuscript and has the following note on "derobe" (third-last line) in the same old hand: "Collier vermutet dissolve," on which see note 10 below.

Goethe's translation is a remarkably faithful recreation of the English original, and even though it may lack some of its lilt and lightness, it is a charming transfer of a beautiful poem into German, poetically perhaps one of the most successful translations which Goethe ever made.

This then is the sum of what has been generally known to Goethe scholars, with a few incidental corrections and explanations which I felt it necessary to add. There are two further bits of German information, however. Karl Elze in his biography of Shakespeare referred to "the much-discussed poem, 'My thoughts are winged with hopes,' discovered in a collection of poems in the Hamburg Library, but no longer to be found there."⁸ Thus, unless the volume reappears again, we cannot confirm any conjectures as to its provenience, original ownership, or the authority of its ascription. It might well turn up in some English or American collection. In those decades of most acute Shakespearomania such a volume as the Hamburg commonplace book could have proved to be an insuperable temptation to which some avid and not hypercritical collector of Shakespeare relics might well have succumbed. Or it may simply have been misplaced, as happened so often in the older unsystematized collections.

The other German reference indeed leads us to one of the most questionable of Shakespearomaniacs of the time, to John Payne Collier, whose high antiquarian enthusiasm led him down the forger's path. That factually erudite Goethe scholar, Heinrich Dünzter, in his edition of Goethe's works gives a more exact account of the provenience of the Benecke version than does the Weimar edition, though he makes other slight misstatements. He adds: "That the verses are written in the manner of Shakespeare, Collier himself in 1846 still recognized."⁹ There seems to be no work of Collier's of 1846 which contains such a notice, but his privately printed booklet of 1836, *New Particulars Regarding the Works of Shakespeare*, is apparently what is meant. Most of this little volume is put together from his forgeries or wish-fulfillments, but one extensive note on pages 66 and 67 is clearly authentic, though just as clearly filled with Collier's careless inaccuracies. His note reads:

The Germans take a keen and active interest in all that respects Shakespeare, and the late English Professor at the University of Heidelberg communicated to me the following stanzas, written in a Common-place Book of the time, preserved in the Hamburg City Library. They are subscribed W. S., and are dated 1606, and I am told have been looked upon by Anglo-Germans as the production of Shakespeare.

Then follows the poem with a large number of minor variants in the

⁸ William Shakespeare: *A Literary Biography*, translated by L. Dora Schmitz (London, 1888), p. 363 f.; German ed. (1876), p. 420.

⁹ In Joseph Kürschner, ed., *Deutsche National-Litteratur, Goethes Werke*, II, 113 f.

text,¹⁰ and Collier's concluding remarks: "I do not recollect these lines in any other author, and they certainly read much in Shakespeare's manner. The book where they are preserved originally belonged to an Englishman. . . ."

We have no way of knowing, of course, whether the Heidelberg professor merely transmitted the Benecke version or had reexamined the original himself. From the reappearance of "derobe" in the text I suspect the former. Either he or Collier shifted the date from the binding to the poem itself. The one piece of new information, unless Collier was merely guessing, is that the volume belonged to an Englishman. Quite possibly it did. However, the close Hamburg-London connections allow us to surmise that the commonplace book might have belonged to a German and contained this and perhaps further English poems together with poems in German, Latin, and other languages. The British Museum, for instance, has a number of albums of this period which contain a combination of English, German, and Latin entries; they illustrate some of the direct contacts which took place in the course of the intellectual and literary interchange of the epoch.

Some eight years later Collier did learn the original English source of the poem when he edited *Lyrical Poems, Selected from Musical Publications between the Years 1589 and 1600*, for the Percy Society.¹¹ He had found the poem in *England's Helicon*, an anthology of 1600, as one of the "three ditties" reprinted from John Dowland's *First Booke of Songes or Ayres*. In Dowland's songbook of 1597 our poem appeared for the first time, and with no designation of authorship. Aside from the variations in spelling and punctuation to be expected in that period, it differs from the Hamburg version only in three places: in the sixth line it has "Hope oft doth" instead of "How ofte doubt," in the next line "some" for "seem," and in the third-last line "dissolve" for "derobe." All three of these probably represent the more original and better readings, though "derobe" may appeal to us as a highly imaginative metaphor which would be no more illogical than "dissolve" at this point. The only further variant introduced by the reprint in *England's Helicon* is "On earth" instead of "In earth" in the fourth line.

Quite aside from this last small detail Dowland's songbook was more likely than the anthology to have been the direct source of the Hamburg version (even more likely, no doubt, was a manuscript

¹⁰ All in orthography and punctuation except: line 3, "heavens"; 6, "hanges," "sheds"; 8, "you do"; 15, "sighes." He leaves "derobe" in line 16, but adds the note: "The hand-writing is in some places not very legible, and I suspect that *derobe* in the last stanza ought to be *dissolve*, which being of old written *deslove* might be easily mistaken for *derobe*."

¹¹ Vol. 13, Pt. 3, p. 57 f., printed verbatim, as later in Hyder Edward Rollins' edition of *England's Helicon* (Cambridge, Mass., 1935), I, 160-61, but with Collier's half modernized, half "antiquely normalized" spelling; e.g., "If she for this with cloudes do maske her eies," instead of "shee," "clowdes doe," and "eyes."

source), for the great English lutenist was very popular on the Continent. However, we cannot even venture to guess whether it is of any significance in this connection that Dowland had lived for many years in Germany and Denmark and did not return to England permanently until 1606.

The best collected edition of the Elizabethan songbooks is E. H. Fellowes' *English Madrigal Verse, 1588-1632*. In the first edition (1920) Fellowes was not yet able to name an author for the poem, but he does note that "The initials 'W S' have been found attached to an early manuscript copy of these lines." Though he gives no reference whatsoever for this statement, it no doubt concerns the Hamburg version, notice of which had reached him in some manner, perhaps indirectly and indefinitely. Subsequent editors who dealt with the poem were only able to quote Fellowes' vague note on this point. In the second edition (1929) he was able to add that the poem had been ascribed to the Earl of Cumberland by Francis Davison.¹²

Francis Davison (ca. 1575-1619) had traveled extensively on the Continent and had written various pieces in prose and verse (among the former a lost *Relation of Saxony*) before he returned to England, probably near the end of 1597, where he busied himself with the study and collecting of contemporary poetry and issued his famous anthology, *A Poetical Rhapsody [sic]*, in 1602, which went through four editions by 1621. In connection with his studies of contemporary poetry he compiled a catalogue of the first lines of the preceding anthology, *England's Helicon*. For two anonymous poems he himself made statements of authorship, attributing No. 121 to Sir Fulke Greville (in whose *Caelica* it later appeared) and No. 122, our poem, to the Earl of Cumberland.

The renowned editor of the Elizabethan anthologies, Hyder Edward Rollins, printed the list but considered the attribution of the poem to George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland (1588-1605), quite unfounded and highly doubtful, concluding, "I see no reason why Davison's ascription should be taken with any seriousness."¹³ Rollins apparently came to this negative conclusion for two reasons: Davison's record for ascriptions is very much a hit-and-miss one, and frequently shows that he did not make use of the best knowledge available at that time. Then, too, the detailed outline of the Earl's life in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, while it has much to say about his extravagant and adventurous life as court favorite, personal champion of Queen Elizabeth, naval commander, and buccaneer, has not one word about any literary activities of his. The full-length biography by G. C. Williamson tells a different story, as we shall see.

Davison could hardly have fabricated this notice out of thin air,

¹² Oxford, 1920, pp. 409 and 613; 2nd ed. (1929), pp. 409 and 614.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, II, 27; see also pp. 24 f., 39, and 40.

particularly if Lord Cumberland was actually as unpoetic as the older accounts seem to indicate. Is there perhaps some evidence after all that Davison was not just hazarding a wild guess? He certainly had first-hand knowledge of the Earl and his family, for he mentions his indebtedness and devotion to the Russell family.¹⁴ George Clifford was a ward of Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford, and later married his daughter Margaret, who was distinguished for her literary tastes and her patronage of Samuel Daniel and other poets of the day. In his anthology Davison included a sonnet by Henry Constable on this lady and her sister, the Countess of Warwick.¹⁵ And it is to be noted that the very next poem, an "Ode. Of Cynthia," which concluded the volume in its first edition, has the following note appended: "This Song was sung before her sacred Maiestie at a shew on horsebacke, wher with the right Honorable the Earle of Cumberland presented her Highness on Maie day last." This notice does not actually state that the Earl is the author of this poem; modern editors have not attributed it to him, but have left it anonymous. Before we can at all seriously consider the possibility that he could be the author of poetry of this quality, we need to have some other contemporary evidence which indicates unmistakably that he was known as a poet. Such evidence is not lacking; it has simply been overlooked.

Robert Dowland, the son of the John Dowland who had first published our poem with his musical setting in 1597, himself issued a volume of music in 1610, *A Muscalle Banquet*, containing his father's and other composers' songs. He was unusually careful, for his time, in giving not only the name of the composer but also the name of the poet for each song, wherever ascertainable. The first song was written by "George, Earl of Cumberland." It may be best to include the poem here, in order to show the nature of the Earl's poetic art and offer a basis for comparison. It is in the rare and generally unrecognized form of the half-sonnet, of four and three lines.¹⁶

My heavy sprite, oppressed with sorrow's might,
Of wearied limbs the burden sore sustains,
With silent groans and heart's tears still complains,
Yet I breathe still and live in life's despite.

Have I lost thee? All fortune I accuse,
Bid thee farewell, with thee all joys farewell,
And for thy sake this world becomes my hell.

¹⁴ See Hyder Edward Rollins' edition of *A Poetical Rhapsody* (Cambridge, 1931-32), II, 195 f.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 235.

¹⁶ E. H. Fellowes, *op. cit.*, 2nd ed., pp. 453 and 619. The editor says, "The reconstruction of the latter part must be left in some uncertainty." However, with the slight change of "bids" to "bid," quite in accordance with the next phrase, the main intent is restored. "Fortune" is probably also preferable to "fortunes," and the arrangement of lines as in Williamson (see note 19 below) is perhaps the better one. I have not, however, ventured to change "All fortune" to "Ill fortune."

While it is in many respect a typical Elizabethan poem, it does show a more expressive personal touch than do most of the lyrics of the day. It has, furthermore, true rhythmic grace and verbal eloquence, and could without attracting unfavorable attention stand among the works of some of the best poets of the epoch.

Lord Cumberland, the Queen's personal champion (a ceremonial office) as well as a great favorite, is known to have accompanied her several times on her Royal Progresses, which were glorified by pageants, dramatic and musical entertainment in typical Renaissance style. The graceful "Ode. Of Cynthia" was, as we have seen, included in the May Day festivities presented by the Earl in the year 1600.¹⁷ He was also with the Queen, for instance, during the Progress of the autumn of 1592. From this occasion originated two other charming songs which, like our poem, were included in *England's Helicon*. The first, "Ceres Song in emulation of Cinthia," is of a different type, but the second, "Apollos Loue-Song for faire Daphne," bears a marked resemblance to our poem.¹⁸ It should be emphasized, however, that only two of these five poems are specifically attributed to George Clifford, the ode may well be his, but the other two will probably remain permanently anonymous.

G. C. Williamson in his biography of the Earl of Cumberland does not include the three poems from *England's Helicon* nor does he mention any of them; and he has overlooked Davison's attribution of our poem to the Earl. But he does include the song which Robert Dowland definitely ascribed to him and also the ode from the May Day festivities of the year 1600 (from *A Poetical Rhapsody*), though here he cautiously refrains from any ascription.¹⁹ The important contribution of Williamson to our purposes is his printing of the three speeches which Lord Cumberland made to Queen Elizabeth on various festive occasions. These addresses show him to have been a highly imaginative writer who wove together old folklore, whimsical conceit, sententious phrase, graceful allusion, and poetic fancy into a sparkling jeweled texture which still retains its power to please. These speeches and the song in Robert Dowland's collection, which can with confidence be attributed to the Earl, tell us unmistakably that he had the poetic talent necessary for writing the poem with which we are concerned. There is, in sum, every reason for taking Davison's ascription seriously in this case.

It must be added, however, that even though our poem can now be attributed to the Earl of Cumberland without violating any rule of reasonable inference, it could also with fair likelihood be attributed

¹⁷ John Nichols, *Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, 3 vols. (London, 1823), III, 490-96; see also pp. 130-43, 168-72.

¹⁸ Rollins, ed., I, 119 f. and 122. The first was sung "at Bissam, the Lady Russells," the second "at . . . the Lord Chandos, at Sudley Castell."

¹⁹ George, *Third Earl of Cumberland (1558-1605): His Life and His Voyages* (Cambridge, 1920), pp. 20 and 234; also pp. 108 f., 122 f., and 242 f.

to any one of a half-dozen of the abler poets of the day who had mastered the somewhat exacting antithetical technique which it represents with true distinction. It has been several times attributed to Fulke Greville, Baron Brooke,²⁰ even though his known poems rarely if ever match it in lyric grace. It could possibly have been written by the man who first set it to music and published it, for John Dowland is known to have written good verse, and one imperishably beautiful poem, "Sweet, stay awhile," wrongly attributed to John Donne, may well be his.²¹

Anyone who is well acquainted with the poetic miscellanies and songbooks of the Elizabethan era realizes what an unusually large number of anonymous lyrics of genuine excellence there are and how impossible it is to attribute many of them with any certainty to a known poet. These remarkable poems have been the subject of much speculation, with the general consensus now being that no one "great unknown" was responsible for the majority of them. Our poem stands high in the group of *anonyma*, even though not at the very top in quality and beauty. It is included in several modern anthologies and would not disgrace the name of the greatest poet of the era. Some of Shakespeare's lyrics are indeed superior to it, but others, equally authentic, are decidedly inferior; it would take a respectable place in his production—if it were his.

But do the initials "W. S." have to mean William Shakespeare? The initials are common enough, but strange to say there seems to be only one other known lyric poet of the period whom they will fit. A William Smith issued a volume of verse in 1596, entitled *Chloris, or The Complaint of the passionate despised Shepheard*.²² One sonnet possibly by him, a versified cosmogony, had already appeared in the *Phoenix Nest* in 1593 with the signature "W. S. Gent."²³ A poem from his *Chloris*, signed "W. S.," appeared afterwards in *England's Helicon*.²⁴ The former is an inferior poem, the latter a better one, though still artificial and contrived, lacking that rhythmic grace and lyric sweetness which even some minor or completely obscure Elizabethan poets were able to give to their verses. When we turn to the volume itself, we see that these are youthful poems which the author offered unpretentiously and apologetically to his poetic idol, Edmund Spenser. All of them are sonnets, except for the poem in the *Helicon* and the introductory one which, like our poem and so many others,

²⁰ See the Rollins edition of *England's Helicon*, II, 176.

²¹ A good account of his poetic as well as musical activities is to be found in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. H. C. Colles, 3rd ed. (New York, 1927), II, 86-90. See also Fellowes, *op. cit.*, p. 617.

²² Reprinted by Sidney Lee, *Elizabethan Sonnets* (1904), II, 321-49.

²³ Rollins, ed. (Cambridge, 1931), p. 85 f., and see p. xix.

²⁴ Rollins, ed., I, 90. This William Smith (*fl.* 1596) should not be confused with another William Smith (1550[?]-1618) who did indeed have close connections with Germany but whose voluminous writings seem to have been entirely in prose.

consist of three six-line stanzas. There is many a pleasing line or passage in the little volume, but never a whole sonnet which maintains an even ductility and sequence—until we come to Sonnet XXVI. This is still completely conventional, but it is handled with sustained grace throughout and is a pleasure to read. However, we can go on to Sonnet XLIX, the last, and not find another such, even though several along the way may give promise of developing well.

That is William Smith's first and last publication; one further poem of his, in autograph, "A newyeares Guifte" to the Countess of Pembroke, is in the British Museum. William Smith is, therefore, a very weak candidate for authorship of our poem. If he did not die young or soon lose his slight poetic vein, he might just possibly have developed to the point of writing our poem in one of his most inspired moments.

If the Hamburg manuscript ever reappeared and were examined by modern scholarly methods for all the evidence contained in it, we might be on safer ground. As it is, the most probable conclusion we can draw from the inadequate material at hand is that whoever was responsible for the initials in the commonplace book of 1604 intended them to be taken for the initials of William Shakespeare. Goethe and his contemporaries could find no other plausible solution, and we with our vastly greater bibliographical facilities cannot either. However, intention and fact are two different matters: the initials "W. S." attached to several plays of that time were also intended to convey the impression that William Shakespeare had written them. One or two of these apocryphal products are good and variously interesting, but they are not by Shakespeare.

The difference is, of course, that these playbooks were probably booksellers' speculations motivated by the desire for dishonest gain, whereas there could be no such sordid motive in connection with our poem. Someone may honestly have believed at the time that it was actually by the great bard. It is certainly strange, in view of the imperishably beautiful lyrics which occur in Shakespeare's dramas (alongside some quite perishable productions), that none of the music books of the madrigalists or lutenists of the day contains a single lyric which has been even tentatively ascribed to him. The poems in *The Passionate Pilgrim* of 1599 can hardly be cited as an exception, even though the second title page of the 1612 edition (between the fourteenth and the fifteenth poem) reads "Sonnets To sundry notes of Musicke." This fraudulent publication contains only five poems which are certainly by him and only a very few others which could possibly be his. And yet the lyrics in his plays, and also the sonnets, indicate that he may well have been a spontaneous and perhaps prolific producer of songs. If he was, he certainly remained strictly anonymous. The Hamburg initials may just possibly represent a break in this lyric

privacy, but we must make even such a tentative statement with the greatest reserve.

If, on the other hand, the author of the poem was George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, which now no longer seems so improbable as it did to Rollins, the initials appended to the Hamburg version must be dismissed as the kind of guesswork in which some Elizabethan and later collectors and anthologists indulged. Though Davison's general record for accuracy and conscientiousness in his attributions is not a good one, he did in this case probably have access to first-hand information and should have known whether the Earl could be and really was the author. Therefore, we should perhaps come to the conclusion that Lord Cumberland's claim to authorship is the best, though the other possible candidates cannot be completely eliminated.

If he was actually the author, then we have another instance of an amusing and delightful kind of irony which played around Goethe's life, a kind of irony which the old gentleman would have enjoyed to the full if he had found out about it. The well-known parallel instance is that he had a warm place in his heart for Lucas Cranach, whose Luther portraits and fine altar piece at Weimar he greatly admired, even as he was, no doubt, highly amused at his nudes and mythological scenes. But Goethe never discovered that he himself was a direct descendant of Lucas Cranach.

In this present instance, there was a girl who spent some of the happiest days of her life with Goethe's mother at Frankfurt, and listened with bated breath to the fairy tales which this enchanting lady could spin so delightfully. This little princess later became the Duchess of Cumberland, the wife of Ernest Augustus, and subsequently Queen of Hanover. She also became one of Goethe's warmest admirers and took advantage of several occasions to see him, corresponding with him between times. Goethe, had he known, would probably have enjoyed handing over to her his translation of the exquisite poem of an earlier holder of the Cumberland title (when it was an earldom), fully as much as he enjoyed imagining, and at least for a time believing, that the poem was by Shakespeare. We can also hear Goethe say admiringly of the handsome, courageous, dare-devil earl, "Ein ganzer Kerl."

Northwestern University

SHAKESPEARE'S FALSTAFF DRAMAS AND KLEIST'S "ZERBROCHENER KRUG"

By JOHN T. KRUMPELMANN

In 1850 Friedrich Hebbel remarked: "Seit dem Falstaff ist im Komischen keine Figur geschaffen worden, die dem Dorfrichter Adam auch nur die Schuhriemen auflösen durfte, und auch mit Falstaff ist Adam, dies Gemisch von Gutmäßigkeit und Niederrächtigkeit . . . nur weitläufig verwandt."¹ Eighty years later Meta Corssen² confirms the relationship:

Adam ist ein unmittelbarer Verwandter des Falstaff. . . . Schon seine äußere Erscheinung übt ähnlich der Falstaffs eine belustigende Wirkung aus. . . . Eine der bezeichnendsten Eigenschaften Falstaffs ist die Gabe, Ausflüchte zu erfinden. . . . Ebenso beweist Adam eine förmliche Genialität im Lügen. . . . Auch die Schwindeleien Adams scheinen, so sehr ihm daran liegen muß, daß sie Glauben finden, manchmal fast als Selbstzweck, er macht sich über sich selbst lustig: "wenn Ihr's herausbekommt, bin ich ein Schuft."³

This evidence of the relationship between Falstaff and Adam invites an investigation to ascertain how and to what extent Kleist, in composing his comedy, *Der zerbrochene Krug*, made use of Shakespeare's Falstaffian dramas. When Corssen says: "Ein Bündel von Fäden spinnt sich von der Tragikomödie Maß für Maß zu Kleists Dichtung hinüber, während zu keinem der anderen Lustspiele eine nähere Beziehung erkennbar ist,"⁴ she ignores Falstaff's leading role in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*. When she continues: "Mit den Königsdramen war er eng vertraut, ihr Einfluß war im Zerbrochenen Krug und in der Hermannsschlacht wirksam," she includes the relation between Kleist's comedy and Shakespeare's *The First and Second Part of King Henry IV*.

This investigation attempts to indicate the nature and extent of the contributions which the Falstaff dramas have made to the authorship

¹ *Sämtliche Werke* (Historisch kritische Ausgabe von R. M. Werner), XI, 351.

² *Kleist und Shakespeare* (Weimar: Alexander Dunker, 1930), *Forschungen zur neueren Literaturgeschichte*, LXI, 125 f. The author also refers to Arthur Eloesser's *Kleists Leben, Werke und Briefe* (Leipzig, 1908), pp. 267 ff., and Gustav Wethly's *H. v. Kleist, der Dramatiker* (Strassburg, 1912), pp. 33 ff. Eloesser summarizes: "Das ganze deutsche Lustspiel hatte so viel Laune und Behagen noch nicht aufgebracht als mit diesem bäuerlichen Nachkommen Falstaffs, dem er selbständig mit eigenem Blut und eigenem Witze folgt" (p. 268). Wethly's comment is: "So haben wir in den beiden Personen des Adam und des Falstaff die beiden Pole der *Vis Comica*: dort das Vergnügen an der Überlistung menschlicher Torheit, hier das Vergnügen am Sieg der menschlichen Torheit. Aber auf beiden Seiten ein gesundes Lachen—gesund, weil es nicht höhnisch ist, weil es nicht der Selbstüberhebung entspringt, weil in diesem Lachen etwas liegt wie ein Selbstbekenntnis: Narren sind wir alle" (*loc. cit.*).

³ See p. 471 *infra*.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 208.

of the *Krug* and to determine through internal evidence "eine durch äußere Kriterien nicht absolut sicher zu entscheidende Frage, ob die Berührung mit Shakespeare eine unmittelbare war oder vorwiegend durch Übersetzungen vermittelt wurde."⁸

Kleist's acquaintance with Shakespeare's "Flemish drunkard,"⁹ Falstaff, may have influenced his "betrühte Erinnerung" when he ascribed the original of *La cruche cassée*, the pictorial inspiration of the "Krug" theme, to "einem niederländischen Meister." His so-called "extremely happy" choice of the "niederländische Heimat des derben Genres, den Taumelplatz der Brower, Ostade, Teniers," as the locale for his comedy must have been determined, at least in part, by knowledge of Falstaff's origin.¹⁰

Insufficient attention has been devoted to further comparison of the *dramatis personae* of the *Zerbrochener Krug* with those of the three Falstaff dramas. Adam is a "Dorfrichter."¹¹ *2 Henry IV* presents "Shallow and Silence, country justices," termed by Schlegel "Schaal und Stille, Friedensrichter auf dem Lande." *Merry Wives* presents Shallow, "a country justice," who appears in the Schlegel translation as "Schaal, Friedensrichter."¹² These translations may well suggest "Schall," *sound*,¹³ which, by transference of sense-appeal from the auditory to the visual, produces "Licht."¹⁴ Kleist's clerk of court, Shakespeare's "Simple, servant of Slender," suggests "Tümpel," Ruprecht's surname, which in Kleist's "Variant" also appears as "Simpel"¹⁵ oder Gimpel."¹⁶ That other names of persons mentioned

⁸ Corssen, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

⁹ *Merry Wives*, II, i, 24. *Complete Works of William Shakespeare*, ed. W. G. Clark and W. A. Wright (New York: Stokes, 1911). Eschenburg translates: "Dieser flämische Saufhals." *William Shakespeares Schauspiele*, Neue ganz umgearbeitete Ausgabe von Johann Joachim Eschenburg (Zürich: Orell, Gehriger, Fülli, 1798), Erster Band.

¹⁰ *Heinrich von Kleists Werke*, hrsg. Erich Schmidt, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut), IV, iii ff. Quotations from the *Krug* are from this edition.

¹¹ A. W. Schlegel's translation (1797-1801) comprises sixteen plays including both parts of *Henry IV* but not the *Merry Wives*. The continuation of this translation, which, under Tieck's direction, appeared (1825-31) after Kleist's death, contains this comedy translated by Baudissin. Cf. Michael Bernays, "Der Schlegel-Tieck'sche Shakespeare," *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, I, 396 ff., and Corssen, *op. cit.*, p. 23. The translation here cited as Schlegel's is *Shakespeare's Sämtliche Dramatische Werke*, Schlegel und Tieck (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1889). This version of *Merry Wives* is quoted to show how the English words would affect the German.

¹² Kleist's acquaintance with the following in Eschenburg's translation of *Measure for Measure* should contribute to the plausibility of the present contention: "Im Original ein Spiel mit dem Worte sound, in Rücksicht auf den Klang dessen, was hohl ist. Denn es bedeutet den Schall, und gesund" (*op. cit.*, II, 204).

¹³ Cf. "Hell," *Kluge's Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 11th ed. (1934). The auditory-visual relation is reinforced by the juxtaposition of "Schaal" and "Stille." See Kluge: "schal, Adj. Mhd. schal 'trüb'"; and "trübe, Adj. lichtlos."

¹⁴ This is Eschenburg's designation, *op. cit.*, I, 364.

¹⁵ *Heinrich von Kleists Werke*, IV, vii and 132. Note the association by juxtaposition of Falstaff and "Gimpel": "Falstaff bemerkt, in der Schenke von

in the *Krug* also occur in the Schlegel translation of the Falstaff dramas, "Frau Brigitte," "Ruprecht," and "Ralf," may be merely coincidental.

Kleist imitates Shakespeare's custom of inventing names descriptive of the character, occupations, or practices of his persons. Thus, the sexton's wife is "Muhme Schwarzgewand"; a corporal is called "Holzegebein"; the hairdresser, who powders wigs, is "Meister Mehl"; a judge is "Richter Pfau"; a counselor, "Wachholder"; an officer of the peace, "Büttel Hanfriede"; the clerk of court, "Licht." In *2 Henry IV* alone Shakespeare names a pair of prostitutes "Doll Tearsheet" and "Jane Nightwork"; his army recruits are "Mouldy," "Shadow," "Wart," "Feeble," and "Bullcalf." The silk merchant is "Master Smooth"; the judges are "Shallow and Silence"; the sheriff's officers "Fang and Snare."

Although we meet no English "Adam" and "Eve," we do find this reference: "Falstaff: Thou knowest in the state of innocence Adam fell; and what should poor Jack Falstaff do in the days of villainy?"¹²

Both Falstaff and Adam are old men, the former "one that is well-nigh worn to pieces with age,"¹³ the latter a crony of the deceased husband of the fifty-year-old Marthe Rull.¹⁴ When the curtain rises in the German comedy, Adam is discovered bandaging his "Wund' am Schienbein."¹⁵ His opening lines contain a pun: "Zum Straucheln braucht's doch nichts, als Füße. / Auf diesem glatten Boden, ist ein Strauch hier? / Gestrauchelt bin ich hier." A few lines later we learn that Adam is a singer of holy songs: "Ich hatte noch das Morgenlied / Im Mund; da stolpr' ich in den Morgen schon." In the next breath we are informed, to the accompaniment of puns, of Adam's deformity:

ADAM: Klumpfuß!
Ein Fuß ist, wie der andere, ein Klumpen.

LICHT: Erlaubt! Da tut Ihr Eurem rechten unrecht.
Der rechte kann sich dieser—Wucht nicht rühmen,
Und wagt sich el'r aufs Schlüpfrije. (27-30)¹⁶

Licht proceeds to tell Adam that his falling is "Der erste Adamsfall, / Den Ihr aus einem Bett hinaus getan" (62 f.). Before the end of the Eastcheap, daß er nicht bloß selbst witzig, sondern auch Schuld sei, daß andere Leute (auf seine Kosten) witzig wären. Mancher Gimpel . . ." (op. cit., VII, 58). Reinhold Steig (*Kleists Berliner Kämpfe* [Berlin, 1901], pp. 133 ff.) considers this passage from the last number of the *Abendblätter* of 1810 to draw upon two Shakespeare passages: *I Henry IV*, III, iii (Bardolph at Gadshill), and *2 Henry IV*, I, ii, 224 ff.

¹² *I Henry IV*, III, iii, 184. Cf. *Krug*, lines 10 ff., spoken to Adam: "Ihr stammt von einem lockern Altvater, / Der so beim Anbeginn der Dinge fiel, / Und wegen seines Falls berühmt geworden." See also *Merry Wives*, IV, ii, 24.

¹³ *Merry Wives*, II, i, 20.

¹⁴ *Krug*, lines 113 ff.

¹⁵ Cf. line 514.

¹⁶ For the significance of the alliteration of "Wucht-Wagt," see note 21 *infra*.

first scene we learn that Dorfrichter Adam is also an archivist, albeit a slovenly one: "Folgt mir ein wenig zur Registratur; / Die Aktenstöße setz' ich auf, denn die, / Die liegen wie der Turm zu Babylon" (160 ff.).

When the curtain rises in the German translation of the British comedy, Friedensrichter Schaal is immediately disclosed to be also a "cust-alorum," i.e., *custos rotulorum*, an archivist,¹⁸ who seems none too orderly in his office.¹⁹ Also in the opening scene of the British comedy Slender announces: "Ich ward neulich am Schienbein getroffen" (295).

When Falstaff appears, he almost at once delivers a pun drawn, like Adam's original one, from the vegetable kingdom.²⁰ Shortly after his first appearance Falstaff puns about his physical deformity: "No quips now, Pistol! Indeed I am in the waist two yards about: but I am now about no waste; I am about thrift" (*Merry Wives*, I, iii, 43 ff.).²¹ In each comedy a double pun is used to refer to the abnormality of the protagonist. Falstaff, like Adam, a psalm-singer, relates: "For my voice, I have lost it with holloaing and singing of anthems" (*2 Henry IV*, I, ii, 212).

The fondness of both Adam and Sir John for alcoholic refreshment requires no comment, but it should be noted that they are alike gourmets.²² Because of the similarity of situation as well as of tastes, the following is cited: Judge Adam prepares to lunch his superior and visitor, Walter: "Fort! Marsch, sag' ich! — Geh, Margarete! / Und Butter, frisch gestampft, Kä's auch aus Limburg, / Und von der fetten pommerschen Räuchergans" (1425 ff.).²³ Justice Shallow

¹⁸ See Eschenburg, *op. cit.*, I, 366 n.

¹⁹ Cf. *2 Henry IV*, III, ii, 105: "Shallow: Where's the roll? where's the roll? where's the roll? Let me see, let me see, let me see. So, so, so, so, so, so, so, so, yea, marry, sir: Ralph Mouldy! Let them appear as I call; let them do so, let them do so. Let me see; where is Mouldy?"

²⁰ I, i, 123. "Worts"—(a) mispronunciation of "words"; (b) "cabbages." See note 30 *infra*.

²¹ Schlegel renders: "Keine Wortspiele, Pistol! / Allerdings hat mein Wanst es weit in der / Dicke gebracht; aber hier ist die Rede nicht von / Wänsten, sondern von Gewinsten, nicht von der / Dicke, sondern von der Tücke." All three versions pun on "W" words and on opposites denoting good and evil, i.e., right-wrong, waste-thrift, Dicke-Tücke. Eschenburg does not attempt this "W" pun (*op. cit.*, I, 391).

²² Steig keenly observes that in Falstaff's statement "daß andere Leute (auf seine Kosten) witzig wären" (note 12 *supra*), Kleist uses "Kosten" as a "doppelsinniges Wort" (*op. cit.*, p. 133). Hence, Kleist realizes that the nature and extent of the fare of Adam's ancestor constituted one of his comical traits. Wethly characterizes Adam: "Dabei ist er ein Epikuräer in groben Linien, ein Mann, dessen Lebensinteressen nicht weit jenseits eines gemästeten Huhnes, einer guten Flasche Wein, Braunschweiger Wurst und einem Limburger Käse liegen" (*loc. cit.*, p. 33 f.).

²³ Shortly thereafter Adam orders the table set: "Und weiß von Damast aufgedeckt, / Schlecht alles zwar, doch recht." Shortly before the corresponding lines from Shakespeare occurs the couplet: "You won it, wore it, kept it, gave it me; / Then plain and right must my possession be" (*2 Henry IV*, IV, v, 222;

prepares to dine his superior and visitor, Falstaff: "Some pigeons, Davy, a couple of short-legged hens, a joint of mutton and any pretty little tiny kickshaws, tell William cook" (*2 Henry IV*, V, i, 27 ff.).

Adam, on a clandestine visit to Eve, is trapped in her room by Ruprecht, Eve's "Bräutigam." Although he escapes unrecognized, he receives "im Kopf ein Loch" (1044 f.). His maid washed the blood from his head (230). Falstaff, on a visit to Mrs. Ford, was similarly trapped by the husband. Although he escaped unrecognized, he was badly beaten. Falstaff, too, on a previous occasion, "when the prince broke [his head]," had the wound washed by Mistress Quickly (*2 Henry IV*, II, i, 97 ff.).²⁴

Kleist resembles Shakespeare in the masterly manner in which he introduces animals into the language of his dramas. When Adam speaks of his lost periwig,

In meine hätt' die Katze heute morgen
Gejungt, das Schwein! . . .
Fünf Junge, gelb und schwarz, und eins ist weiß.
Die schwarzen will ich in der Vecht ersäufen.
Was soll man machen? Wollt Ihr eine haben?
(242 ff.)

are we hearing an echo of Falstaff when he, who "geschmort . . . wie ein holländisches Gericht,"²⁵ was thrown "in die Themse," relates "die Schelmen schmissen mich in die Themse, mit eben der Gleichgültigkeit, womit sie die blinden Jungen einer Hündin fünfzehn von Einem Wurf ersäuft hätten?"²⁶ Or when Frau Marthe, denouncing the youthful Ruprecht, exclaims, "Wenn ich dem Hochmut erst den Kamm zertreten, / Der mir bis an die Krüge schwillet" (477 f.), do we not visualize the same barnyard fowl pictured by Shakespeare when he says of young Percy, "daß er sich brüstet, und den Kamm / Der Jugend gegen eure Würde sträubt?"²⁷

When Adam inquires "warum ein Richter, / Wenn er nicht auf dem Richtstuhl sitzt, / Soll gravitätisch, wie ein Eisbär, sein" (156 ff.), we recall Falstaff's lament, "ich bin so melancholisch wie ein Brummkater, oder wie ein Zeiselbär" (*I Henry IV*, I, ii, 82). Kleist's "Und ihr das Heu man flog, als wie gemaust" (878) must suggest Falstaff's "Ich stehe auf dem Sprunge, wie eine Katze, wo es Rahm zu mausen gibt" (*I Henry IV*, IV, ii, 64).

italics mine). The similarity of diction is the more striking because Schlegel has "Klar ist daher auch mein Besitz an ihr." In a drinking scene in *Merry Wives* (III, v, 31) Eschenburg renders Falstaff's "Simple of itself" by "Schlecht und recht, ohne Zusatz" (I, 486).

²⁴ Schlegel: "als dir der Prinz ein Loch in den Kopf schlug." Cf. also III, ii, 32; III, ii, 347; and *I Henry IV*, III, i, 241.

²⁵ *Merry Wives*, III, v, 120. Eschenburg and Schlegel are here identical.

²⁶ *Merry Wives*, III, v, 6 ff. Eschenburg (I, 485) more nearly suggests Kleist than does the English original. Cf. also *I Henry IV*, III, i, 19: "Hätt' Eurer Mutter Katze nur gekitzt," and *Krug*, 259: "Die balzen sich und jungen, wo ein Platz ist."

²⁷ *I Henry IV*, I, i, 97 f.

The treatment of military recruitment displays similarities in the works of both authors. Eve laments the impending departure of her conscripted sweetheart.

*Du gehst zum Regiments jetzt, o Ruprecht,
Wer weiß, wenn du erst die Muskete trägst,
Ob ich dich je im Leben wieder sehe.
Krieg ist's, bedenke, Krieg, in den du ziehst:
Willst du mit solchem Grolle von mir scheiden?*
(457 ff.; italics mine)

Doll Tearsheet laments the departure of her lover, the conscription officer, thus: "Komm, ich will gut Freund mit dir sein, *Hans*; *du gehst jetzt in den Krieg*, und *ob ich dich jemals wieder sehen soll, oder nicht, da fragt kein Mensch darnach*" (*II Henry IV*, II, iv, 71 ff.; italics mine).

Falstaff, a dishonest recruiting officer, who repeatedly grants illegal exemptions to conscripts in return for bribes,²⁸ frankly admits: "Ich habe den königlichen Aushebungsbefehl schändlich gemißbraucht. Anstatt hundertfünfzig Soldaten, habe ich dreihundert und etliche Pfund zusammengebracht. Ich . . . erfrage mir versprochene Junggesellen . . ." (*I Henry IV*, IV, ii, 12 ff.). Likewise, "der nichtswürdig-schändliche Betrüger" (1948), Adam, tries to force on Eve his offer fraudulently to effect the release from conscription of her "contracted bachelor," Ruprecht, and demands from her in return "So Schändliches . . . daß es kein Mädchenmund wagt auszusprechen" (1946 f.).

The formality of Adam's inquiry addressed to his old neighbor, Frau Marthe, "Wer seid Ihr? . . . / Wes Namens, Standes, Wohnorts, und so weiter" (575 f.), surpasses that used by Falstaff to "ward his captive, Sir John Coleville: "Wie ist Euer Name, Herr? Von welchem Stande seid Ihr und von Welchem Orte, wenn's Euch beliebt?" (*II Henry IV*, IV, iii, 1 f.). When Adam's inquiry adduces the information that the plaintiff (Klägere) is a widow, we recall the words of Mistress Quickly: "I am a poor widow of Eastcheap, and he is arrested at my suit [Klage]" (*II Henry IV*, II, i, 76).²⁹ The British plaintiff immediately puns on the words "sum, some." The German widow, upon her entry into the courtroom, becomes eloquent with her play on the words "entscheiden," "ersetzen," and "entschuldigen" (416-38).³⁰

²⁸ *II Henry IV*, III, ii, 260. "Bard.: Sir, a word with you: I have three pounds to free Mouldy and Bulicaf."

²⁹ Later Marthe designates herself as "Ich arme Witwe" (*Krug*, 1604).

³⁰ In good Shakespearean manner, play on words abounds throughout the *Krug*. The play on "confessed-redressed" occurs early in the first scene of *Merry Wives* (I, i, 107). Then follows the play "Kraut" for "graut" and for "Kraut" (Shakespeare: "Worts" for "words" and for "cabbages"). See note 20 *supra*. Thus we have a trio of puns in close sequence in both comedies. Cf. note 21 *supra*.

Falstaff, deciding on a third attempt for success with Mrs. Page, says: "This is the third time; I hope good luck lies in odd numbers. . . . They say there is divinity in odd numbers, either in nativity, chance or death" (*Merry Wives*, V, i, 2 f.).⁸¹ Adam drinks by this rule.

Ach, was! Nach der Pythagoräer-Regel.

Eins ist der Herr; zwei ist das finstre Chaos:
Drei ist die Welt. Drei Gläser lob' ich mir.
Im dritten trinkt man mit den Tropfen Sonnen,
Und Firmamente mit den übrigen. (1530 ff.)⁸²

The final act of *Merry Wives* contains several elements which seem to have counterparts in the *Krug*. When Frau Brigitte tells of her encounter with the fleeing Adam:

Zur Zeit der Mitternacht etwa, und just,
Im Lindengang, bei Marthens Garten . . .
Huscht . . . ein Kerl bei mir vorbei, kahlköpfig,
Mit einem Pferdefuß, und hinter ihm
Erstinkt's wie Dampf von Pech und Haar und Schwefel.

... und [ich] seh' . . .
Die Glatz', ihr Herren, im Verschwinden noch,
Wie faules Holz, den Lindengang durchleuchten
(1683-91)

she describes a situation which bears some resemblance to that related by Mistress Page:

Man hat ein Märlein, daß der Jäger Herne—
Von alters Förster hier im Windsorwald—
Im ganzen Winter jede Mitternacht
Um eine Eiche geht mit großen Hörnern.

Ihr alle höret von dem Spuk und wißt,
Daß unsre schwachen, abergläub'schen Alten
Die Mär vom Jäger Herne so überkamen
Und unsrer Zeit als Wahrheit überliefern.
(IV, iv, 28 ff.)

Common to both scenes are "Winter" and "Mitternacht." For Marthe's garden we have Windsor Park (or forest), for the "Lindengang," an oak tree. For Adam with his "kahler Glatze" (1706), who is thought by the "blödsinnig Volk" (1700)⁸³ to be the devil, we have

⁸¹ Eschenburg: "Das ist nun das dritte Mal: ich hoffe, aller guten Dinge sind drei! Geh nun fort. Man sagt, die ungerade Zahl ist eine heilige Zahl, bei der Geburt im menschlichen Leben, und im Sterben. Geh nur" (I, 531).

⁸² That Kleist refers elsewhere (*Werke*, VII, 58) to Shakespeare's mention of "des Pythagoras" Lehre wildes Geflügel anlangend, *Was Ihr wollt*, Akt 4" and that in the very beginning of the next act of that same play (V, i) the clown says: "Primo, secundo, tertio, is a good play; and the old saying is the third pays for all; the triplex, sir, is a good tripping measure."

⁸³ Shakespeare has "idle-headed old."

Falstaff "verkappt wie Herne, mit großem Hirschgeweih" (IV, iv, 43).

The luminous effect produced by Adam's bald pate as he runs through the darkness should recall Falstaff's remark to Bardolph: "When thou rannest up Gadshill in the night . . . if I did not think thou hadst been an ignis fatuus or a ball of fire" (*1 Henry IV*, III, iii, 42 ff.). The wearing of stag's horns by Falstaff recalls the frequent references to "cuckold" and "cuckold's horns" in the second and third acts culminating in the statements to "Herrn Fluth" (Ford): "er solle ein Hahnrei werden," and "Ihr sollt dem Fluth Hörner aufsetzen."³⁴ This leads us to believe that there is more than accidental likeness between Ford's reaction to the visit of Falstaff to Mrs. Ford and the conduct of Ruprecht when he learns that another man (Adam) is in Eve's room. Ford "macht da solchen Lärm . . . schimpft so auf alle Ehemänner, flucht so auf alle Evestöchter . . . und gibt sich solche Püffe vor die Stirn, und schreit dabei: Wachst heraus! Wachst heraus!" (IV, ii, 22 ff.).³⁵

RUPRECHT: Da ich Glock eilf³⁶ das Pärchen hier begegne,

Ich denke: halt, jetzt ist's noch Zeit, o Ruprecht,
Noch wachsen dir die Hirschgeweih nicht:—
Hier mußt du sorgsam dir die Stirn befühlen,
Ob dir von fern hornartig etwas keimt.
(939-44)

When he has broken into the room ("eingedonnert," 966) and turns his attention to Eve, he "trotzt wie toll" (757). He relates further: "So schimpf' ich sie und sage: liederliche Metze" (1024).

Similar also is the manner in which the two authors allow the respective protagonists to retire from the scene. Each, in banishing his culprit, mitigates the culprit's lot by withholding a severe penalty, bestowing a milder one, and making conditional provision for the restoration of the banished one to position and favor. In the promulgation of the sentence the last remark is in each case directed to the executor of the sentence, Licht and the Lord Chief Justice, respectively. Walter pronounces the verdict over Adam:

Geschwind, Herr Schreiber, fort! Holt ihn zurück!
Daß er nicht Übel rettend ärger mache.
Von seinem Amt zwar ist er suspendiert,
Und Euch bestell' ich, bis auf weitere
Verfügung, hier im Ort es zu verwalten;
Doch sind die Kassen richtig, wie ich hoffe,
Zur Desertion ihn zwingen will ich nicht.
Fort! Tut mir den Gefallen, holt ihn wieder!
(1960 ff.)

³⁴ *Merry Wives*, III, v, 106 and 140 respectively.

³⁵ Eschenburg: "er hat da solch einen Lärm mit meinem Manne vor, schmält auf alle verheirathete Männer, flucht so auf alle Evenstöchter . . . giebt sich dabei solche Püffe an die Stirne, und schreit: Wachst hervor! wachst hervor!" (I, 501).

³⁶ A form commonly found in Eschenburg but not in Schlegel.

as King Henry speaks his verdict over Falstaff:

Till then, I banish thee, on pain of death,
As I have done the rest of my misleaders;

For competence of life I will allow you,
That lack of means enforce you not to evil:
And, as we hear you do reform yourselves,
We will, according to your strengths and qualities,
Give you advancement. Be it your charge, my lord,
To see perform'd the tenour of our word.
Set on. (2 *Henry IV*, V, v, 67 ff.)

Now to observe miscellaneous isolated items throughout the four dramas. Both dramatists make frequent use of proverbs, but only two points demand mention here. In the *Krug*, Ruprecht confirms a promise by saying: "Das ist ein Wort" (891), thus suggesting the *Sprichwort*: "Ein Mann, ein Wort." This proverb, with its members reversed, occurs in Eschenburg, and twice in the Schlegel translation in confirming promises³⁷ to render Shakespeare's "I am at a word" and "I have spoke at a word" respectively. At the end of the scene containing the last quoted expression, A. W. Schlegel uses another proverb: "Kommt Zeit, kommt Rat," to render the English: "Let time shape, and there an end." Kleist's use of this same proverb at the end of a long speech (1297) could not have been suggested by the original English. The fact that Kleist uses, within four hundred verses of each other, two proverbs used within forty lines by Schlegel strongly indicates his close acquaintance with the German translation.

Falstaff, elated over a favorable development, says: "Sayest thou so, old Jack? go thy ways; / I'll make more of thy old body than I have done" (*Merry Wives*, II, ii, 144 f.). This the Schlegel translation renders: "Siehst du nun, alter Hans? Nur immer vorwärts! / Ich will deine alte Figur mehr in Ehren halten, / als ich bisher gethan." Eschenburg translates thus: "Falstaff: Für sich. / Was sagst du nun, alter Hans?—Immer zu! / Ich will aus deinem alten Körper noch mehr machen als bisher geschehen ist" (I, 431). Kleist's villain, similarly elated, reacts thus: "Adam (für sich): Auf, aufgelebt, du alter Adam!" (605).

Notice in all renditions the exhortation of self with the use of the Christian name and the epithet "old." But only in Kleist, as in Eschenburg, is the speech designated as an aside. If there is any relation here, it indicates Kleist's acquaintance with the Eschenburg translation.

A few expressions involving rhetorical tropes must be observed. Adam says to Ruprecht: "Steht nicht der Esel, wie ein Ochse, da?" (866). Falstaff says to himself: "Ich fange an zu merken, daß man

³⁷ *Op. cit.*, I, 388; Schlegel-Tieck, *Merry Wives*, I, iii, 15; and A. W. Schlegel, *II Henry IV*, III, ii, 320.

einen Esel aus mir gemacht hat," to which Ford adds: "Ja, und einen Ochsen dazu."³⁸

Some lines later Ruprecht narrates:

Der Schuft schleicht mir ums Haus, das mag ich nicht;
 Sag' ihm, daß du kein Braten bist für ihn,
 Mein Seel', sonst werf' ich ihn vom Hof herunter.
 Die spricht: "Ich glaub', du schierst mich," sagt ihm was,
 Das ist nicht hin, nicht her, nicht Fisch, nicht Fleisch.³⁹
 (928 ff.)

This I would compare with Dortchen's "Ihr abgestandener Schuft! Fort! / Ich bin ein Bissen für Euren Herrn [I am meat for your master]" (*II Henry IV*, II, iv, 133), and Falstaff's "Sie ist weder Fisch noch Fleisch" (*I Henry IV*, III, iii, 144). In each case an unworthy male, pursuing the lady-love of his superior, is being rejected.

Attention must be paid to a rhetorical device used with equal facility and effect by each protagonist,⁴⁰ and alluded to by Corssen. It is essentially the frequent use of a conditional clause containing a negative with a conclusion-clause stating "I am a rogue" or the like. Note especially Falstaff's "Wenn ich nicht ein funfzigen gefochten habe, so will ich ein Bündel Radises sein" (*I Henry IV*, II, iv, 207) which is followed immediately by "Wenn ihrer nicht . . . so bin ich keine zweibeinige Kreatur." Compare this last example with Kleist's "Ich will von ungespaltnem Leibe sein, / Wenn nicht ein Schäferhund" (1232 f.). Note further that Falstaff elsewhere says: "Wenn er [Schaal] nackt war, sah er natürlich aus wie ein *gespaltener Rettich*" (*II Henry IV*, III, ii, 333; italics mine).

Compare also the following: "Falstaff: Wenn du es halb so gravitätisch und majestatisch machst . . . so sollst du mich bei den Beinen aufhängen wie ein Kaninchen oder Hasen beim Wildhändler" (*I Henry IV*, II, iv, 478), and Ruprecht: "Wenn das die Muhme Brigitte zeugt, so hängt mich. / Und bei den Beinen sie meinthalb dazu" (1358 f.).

The evidence indicates that not only in his creation of Richter Adam, but also in the composition of his entire comedy, Kleist drew extensively on his acquaintance with Shakespeare's Falstaff; that, when he wrote the final version of the *Zerbrochener Krug*, he was quite familiar with Schlegel's translation of *King Henry IV*, which he used almost to the exclusion of the English text in making the borrowings which he infused or incorporated in his comedy.⁴¹ It is

³⁸ *Merry Wives*; Schlegel, V, iv, 124 ff. Eschenburg has "Freilich" where Schlegel has "Ja."

³⁹ *Merry Wives*, III, iv, 71 ff.: "Page to Fenton: You wrong me, sir, that you still haunt my house. . . . She is no match for you."

⁴⁰ Cf. e.g., *Krug*, 33, 1092, 1108, 1205, 1791, and *I Henry IV*, I, ii, 107 f. and 112; II, iv, 167 and 182; III, iii, 182.

⁴¹ Only two isolated instances have been noted where Kleist's text more closely resembles the English original than the German translation. Cf. note 23

likewise evident that Kleist knew the Eschenburg translation of the *Merry Wives*. But, since Eschenburg avoids puns, which abound in Shakespeare and in the *Krug*, it must be concluded that Kleist was acquainted also with the English original.

The fact that practically no elements from the serious parts of the English dramas found their way, even by accident, into the German comedy, and that certain acts and scenes of the English dramas yield the bulk of the borrowings, signifies that the debt which the *Zerbrochener Krug* owes to the Falstaff dramas is not due to chance reminiscences, but to a conscious imitation.

One is firmly convinced that the "Berührung mit Shakespeare . . . vorwiegend durch Übersetzungen vermittelt wurde,"⁴² and that the "unmittelbare" contacts with the original English were slight. On the basis of the evidence yielded by a comparison of the *Krug* and the Falstaffian dramas alone, it is not possible to determine definitely the extent of Kleist's familiarity with the original English. His close and intimate knowledge of the Schlegel translation of Shakespeare's *King Henry IV* is obvious.

Louisiana State University

supra and 2 *Henry IV*, V, iii, 40 f.: "Silence: I have been merry twice and once ere now." Schlegel: "Ich bin wohl schon ein oder ein paarmal in meinem Leben lustig gewesen." *Krug*: "Der trank zu dreimal nur, der Nüchterne" (689).

⁴² See p. 463 *supra*.

THE AUTHENTICITY OF GALILEO'S LETTER TO LANDUCCI

By EDWARD ROSEN

Galileo described his contribution to the development of the telescope in three of his writings. The earliest of these three passages occurs in a letter which he sent to his brother-in-law Benedetto Landucci on August 29, 1609. In the national edition of Galileo's works, it is printed in italic type (instead of the usual roman), under the following editorial warning: "Dubitiamo gravemente dell' autenticità di questa lettera."¹ The reader who would like to know the basis of the doubt is referred to an article by Antonio Favaro.²

Favaro questioned the authenticity of the letter for various reasons. Let us listen first to his opinion about its phraseology:

Inoltre non isfuggirà, a chi abbia qualche familiarità con lo stile galileiano, che in parecchi punti della lettera surriferita non vi si riscontrano tutte le qualità che lo caratterizzano, e che perfino alcune parole non sono del vocabolario galileiano. (p. 59)

As editor of the national edition, Favaro acquired an unrivaled knowledge of Galileo's style. It is most regrettable that he did not trouble to specify what stylistic characteristics he found missing from our letter, and which of its words he deemed alien to Galileo's vocabulary. As things stand, we have only an expression of Favaro's feeling, which all students of Galileo will, of course, respect. But we have no means of ascertaining whether that feeling would be sustained by a detailed comparison of our letter with others of unimpeachable genuineness. The authenticity of Galileo's letter on the relative merits of sculpture and painting was also challenged by Favaro on the ground, among others, that "lo stile non ha sempre sapore galileiano" (XI, 340). Yet a careful philological examination of this letter subsequently showed that it is stylistically irreproachable.³ Such a space-consuming procedure is in my opinion unnecessary for our letter, since its contents establish its genuineness beyond any doubt. Unless we are disposed, then, to defer to Favaro's private judgment in literary matters as decisive, we must consider the arguments by which he publicly sought to attack the authenticity of our letter.

It is addressed to Benedetto Landucci of Florence, who married

¹ *Le Opere di Galileo Galilei* (Florence, 1890-1909; reprinted, 1929-39), X, 253. Biographical references and quotations from Galileo are from this work unless otherwise indicated.

² *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, I (1891), 55-75; cited hereafter as *NAV*. Quotations from Favaro are from this work unless otherwise indicated.

³ Margherita Mårgani, *Atti della R. Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, LVII (1921-22), 556-68.

Virginia Galilei, a younger sister of the scientist, in 1591. Later in that year, on July 2, the scientist's father died (XIX, 109). He had never been prosperous and, as was noted by the earliest biographer of Galileo, he left no wealth to be inherited.⁴ As the eldest son, Galileo now became the head of the family and bore its burdens. Among other obligations, he was required to pay his sister Virginia's dowry to her husband, Benedetto Landucci. Galileo was then receiving sixty florins or ducats a year for teaching mathematics at the University of Pisa (XIX, 41, 43). The income from his professorship rose to 180 florins a year when he was appointed to the University of Padua in the autumn of 1592.⁵ We do not know the terms of Virginia's dowry. But in the case of her younger sister Livia, who married ten years later, the sum pledged was 1,800 ducats (XIX, 213.13-19). Of this total, 800 were to be paid at once, of which Galileo had to borrow 600 (X, 85.10-11), and the rest in five annual installments of 200 ducats each. Despite his most strenuous exertions Galileo could not liquidate all his debts, and he fell behind on the dowry payments to Landucci. From Florence, his mother warned him on May 29, 1593, about his proposed visit to that city:

venite provisto, perchè, a quel io vedo, Benedetto voile il suo, ciò quel che gli avete promesso, e minaccia fortemente di farvi pigliare subito che arriverete qua. Per quel che io intendo, esendo di patti e così obbligato, debbe potere; però sarà persona per farlo. (X, 61.6-9)

Impressed by Galileo's inability to pay and by Landucci's threat to have him arrested, Favaro wrote in 1891 about our letter:

l'indole delle relazioni che tra di essi intercedevano non ci pare si accordi con una comunicazione di tal fatta; e . . . fra tutte le persone, alle quali Galileo poteva rivolgersi per narrare un avvenimento così importante, sembra alquanto strano che sia andato proprio a scegliere il cognato, col quale può darsi che non sia mai vissuto in buono accordo. (p. 58)

Yet in the course of his unremitting researches into every aspect of Galileo's career, Favaro subsequently discovered and published some documents that utterly demolish his characterization of the relationship between the two brothers-in-law. For example, despite the risk of being arrested, Galileo visited Florence, where he borrowed 200 scudi on August 11, 1593, with Landucci significantly signing as surety for the loan (XIX, 571).⁶ On July 9, 1599, the scientist

⁴ Vincenzo Viviani, quoted in *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, LXII (1902-03), Pt. 2, p. 699.

⁵ *Opere*, XIX, 111.15-16; 122. Galileo is portrayed as confused at this time about the relative value of the florin, by the Hungarian novelist Zsolt Harsányi's *vie romancée*, which was translated into English as *The Star-Gazer* (New York, 1939). Harsányi (p. 116) permits Galileo's confusion to be cleared away by the explanation that the florin was then worth 5 Venetian lire or $2\frac{1}{2}$ Italian lire. But the marriage contract of Galileo's sister, Livia, says: "six lire and four soldi per ducat" (Harsányi, p. 189; cf. *Opere*, XIX, 213.16), and the same equation occurs in our letter (see p. 480, below).

⁶ "lire 7 per scudo."

appeared before a notary in Padua to constitute Landucci his legal proxy, for the purpose of collecting a debt of sixty ducats owed to Galileo by a resident of Florence (XIX, 209).⁷ In a running account of what he owed a Venetian merchant, Galileo posted an item of a little over five lire for a book sent to Landucci some time after October 10, 1602 (XIX, 173).

Despite these friendly gestures, Landucci in Florence named a Paduan priest his proxy to squeeze the unpaid balance of the dowry out of Galileo. Landucci took this legal step on May 28, 1605 (XIX, 209-11).⁸ That summer Galileo visited Florence and apparently paid up in full. More than that, he lent Landucci 35 lire (XIX, 199). In the course of the next year he discharged two of Landucci's debts, totaling 350 lire, and also advanced his house rent for four months. Galileo having recently invented a mathematical instrument which was being marketed, Landucci sold one and kept the proceeds, so that he owed Galileo 628 lire in all.

The earlier feeling of hostility, perhaps entirely due to Galileo's impecuniosity, was now replaced by a warmer relationship. In a letter to the court tutor of the heir to the Tuscan throne, Landucci reported the news of Galileo's return to Padua from Florence in the fall of 1605 (X, 150.2-3). In May, 1606, Landucci told the tutor that Galileo would soon revisit Florence (X, 158.2-3). A letter addressed by Galileo to the tutor on August 24, 1607, was delivered personally by Landucci, who seized the opportunity to complain about the trouble he was having with the tax on dowries; the tutor explained apologetically to Galileo that he had the will, if not the power, to help Landucci (X, 180-81).

Galileo's connections with the Tuscan court served Landucci in good stead when a minor functionary died. Landucci was eager to get the vacant job, and Galileo wrote to the Grand Duchess on his behalf, stressing his loyalty and poverty. Landucci presented Galileo's message to the Duchess in person. But she replied to Galileo that Landucci was not qualified for the post, which had been promised by the Duke to someone else. Yet three weeks later the Duke's secretary informed Galileo that, upon the renewed intervention of the Duchess, Landucci received the appointment on January 31, 1609 (X, 225-28). No salary was attached to the office, whose duties consisted of weighing all the silver that was sold and recording the transactions. Of the fee charged for this service, the two weighers were entitled to keep three-quarters, yielding an income officially estimated at sixty florins for each (XIX, 212). Less than seven months after Landucci attained lifelong economic security through Galileo's help, the scientist wrote

⁷ "ad libras 6 soldos 4 pro singulis ducatis."

⁸ In 1608, according to Galileo's brother, the sum still owing to their brothers-in-law was 1,400 scudi (*Opere*, X, 193.22).

his brother-in-law the letter which Favaro rejected because with Landucci "può dirsi che non sia mai vissuto in buono accordo."⁹

The cordial relations prevailing from 1605 to 1609 became even closer after Galileo resigned from the University of Padua to become the First Mathematician and Philosopher of the Grand Duke of Tuscany on July 10, 1610 (X, 400-01). Landucci appears to have helped manage Galileo's household affairs; an account of mutual expenditures kept by the scientist covers a period of about a year from late in 1610 to November 29, 1611 (XIX, 200). When a daughter of Landucci became a nun, her father agreed to pay the institution ten scudi a year for her upkeep, and Galileo pledged his property to make good should Benedetto Landucci default (XIX, 574-75).

We have followed the interacting careers of the brothers-in-law over a span of two decades, and have seen good reason to believe that they were on the best of terms on August 29, 1609, the date of our letter. Let us now recall Favaro's comment: "fra tutte le persone, alle quali Galileo poteva rivolgersi per narrare un avvenimento così importante, sembra alquanto strano che sia andato proprio a scegliere il cognato."¹⁰ The reason Galileo chose his brother-in-law as the recipient of this particular communication will become clear, I trust, after we have inspected our letter.¹¹

Its uniqueness was emphasized by Favaro, who wrote:

Anzitutto noteremo che sarebbe questa l'unica lettera la quale rimane a far fede di un carteggio fra Galileo e Benedetto Landucci, carteggio del resto che deve aver avuto certamente luogo, attesi i molteplici interessi dai quali erano fra loro legati i due cognati. (p. 58)

Two messages from Galileo in Padua to officials in Florence, as we have already seen, were delivered personally by Landucci, who had doubtless received them as enclosures in letters addressed to him by Galileo.¹² When the scientist wrote to the Grand Duke of Tuscany on August 24, 1607, he used Landucci as intermediary (X, 180.2-3). Galileo's mother mentioned a letter from her son to Landucci some four months after the date of our letter (X, 279.4). Its unique fate in escaping the oblivion that has swallowed the rest of the Galileo-Landucci correspondence does not prove that it is spurious. On the contrary, it was set apart from humdrum letters concerned with transitory affairs of everyday life by its distinctive contents, of

⁹ See p. 474 above. Landucci has been falsely charged with deserting his family in 1621 and thereby adding to Galileo's burdens; see Favaro, *Galileo Galilei e Suor Maria Celeste* (Florence, 1891; reprinted, 1935), p. 146. The error arose from a confusion of Landucci with Galileo's other brother-in-law. Eugenio Alberi's edition of Galileo's *Opere* (Florence, 1842-56), IX, 12 n.; cf. *Opere*, national ed., XIII, 79 n.

¹⁰ See p. 474 above.

¹¹ See the last paragraph of this article.

¹² See p. 475 above; *Opere*, X, 180.2, 225.5.

permanent interest to many readers outside the immediate family circle.

After declaring that in his eyes our letter has "una certa affinità con la famosa lettera apocrifa di Galileo al P. Renieri," Favaro continued: "Scendendo poi a' particolari, noi troviamo in questa lettera di Galileo al Landucci asserite alcune gravi inesattezze, sulle quali intendiamo richiamare l'attenzione degli studiosi" (p. 59).¹³ Before we accompany Favaro in his examination of the serious mistakes in our letter, let us scrutinize the underlying implicit assumption. Are we being asked to discard as unauthentic any writing that contains grave errors? The application of such a principle to Galileo's works would lead to startling results, as we shall presently see. Galileo was unquestionably a genius, but he was also a human being. He too could err. As we review our letter's inaccuracies, let us consider whether they were committed by some impostor or by Galileo himself.

Favaro began his list of the mistakes with the following:

Ma è assolutamente inesatta l'affermazione che Galileo sia stato, come nella lettera viene affermato, "chiamato dalla Serenissima Signoria"; questa chiamata, del resto assai inverosimile, non è provata da alcun documento. (p. 60)

Galileo's appearance before the Signoria, a high governmental body of the Venetian Republic, is confirmed by a document first published by Favaro.¹⁴ He disputed, not the fact of Galileo's presence at the Signoria, but Galileo's claim to have been summoned there. Yet would a servant of the Republic, above all a professor at the University of Padua, have intruded at a meeting of the Signoria without being previously granted an audience, not necessarily in writing?

Favaro further insisted: "la gita di Galileo a Venezia e la presentazione del cannocchiale sono da attribuirsi o alla iniziativa sua propria, o ai suggerimenti di amici e tutto al più di qualche patrizio" (p. 60). This is a jumbled version of the story told by Galileo in *Il Saggiatore* (Rome, 1623) about his reaction in 1609 when he heard the news in Venice that the telescope had been invented:

Su questa relazione io tornai a Padova, dove allora stanziai, e mi posi a pensar sopra tal problema, e la prima notte dopo il mio ritorno lo ritrovai, ed il giorno seguente fabbricai lo strumento, e ne diedi conto a Venezia a i medesimi amici co' quali il giorno precedente ero stato a ragionamento sopra questa materia. . . . Finalmente, per consiglio d' alcun mio affezionato padrone, lo presentai al Principe in pieno Collegio. (VI, 258.4-8, 12-14; ed. 1623, p. 62)

According to *Il Saggiatore*, then, immediately after constructing his first telescope, Galileo brought it from Padua to Venice of his own accord; he presented an instrument to the Doge on the advice of a

¹³ For the exposure of the pretended letter of Galileo to Renieri, see Albèri's edition of Galileo's *Opere*, VII, 40 n.

¹⁴ NAV, p. 71; *Opere*, XIX, 588.1-2; cf. p. 479 below. Rendering a portion of our letter into English, M. W. Burke-Gaffney, *Kepler and the Jesuits* (Milwaukee, 1944), p. 63, mistranslated "Ser.ma Signoria" by "His Serenity," meaning the Doge.

patron; and no mention is made of his being called by the Signoria. But in our letter Galileo says:

mi messi a pensare sopra la sua fabbrica: la quale finalmente ritrovai, e così perfettamente, che uno che ne ho fabbricato, supera di assai la fama di quello di Fiandra. Et essendo arrivato a Venetia voce che ne havevo fabbricato uno, sono 6 giorni che sono stato chiama[to] dalla Ser.^{ma} Signoria . . . e vedendolo desidera[...] da questo Ser.^{mo} Principe, mi risolvetti il di 25 stante di comparire in Coll[egio] e farne libero dono a Sua Ser.^{ta}. (X, 253.12-16; 253.26-254.28)¹⁵

In contrast with the account in *Il Saggiatore*, here the reputation of Galileo's telescope precedes him to Venice; he is summoned by the Signoria; and he makes up his own mind to present the instrument to the Doge. Do not these three features share a common tendency to magnify Galileo's importance? When he composed this letter, he was not yet a scientist of wide renown. But when he wrote *Il Saggiatore*, his name was known all over Europe. Hence in the later work he did not succumb to a temptation, as he evidently did in our letter, to exaggerate his fame, his social standing in Venice, and the independence of his own judgment.

In the passage just quoted from our letter, Favaro found fault with both references to the Doge. With regard to the meeting of the Collegio on August 25, 1609, he concluded:

Dal verbale dell' udienza medesima si rileva che il Doge Leonardo Donato era ammalato (solo caso in cui mancasse alle convocazioni di quel supremo consesso), perchè ne faceva le veci il Consigliere anziano, Costantino Renier, in qualità espressa di Vice-Doge. (p. 61)

Citing two contemporary letters that mention the chief magistrate's illness, Favaro contended that the Doge "Non potè adunque in questi giorni nè far esprimere a Galileo il desiderio che gli fosse presentato il cannocchiale, nè tampoco assistere alla presentazione di esso" (p. 62). But our letter does not assert that the Doge personally attended the presentation. It seems deliberately noncommittal about his presence or absence: "mi risolvetti il di 25 stante di comparire in Coll[egio] e farne libero dono a Sua Ser.^{ta}." The same discreet silence was not observed in *Il Saggiatore*, where Galileo said about the telescope:

lo presentai al Principe in pieno Collegio, dal quale quanto ei fusse stimato e ricevuto con ammirazione, testificano le lettere ducali, che ancora sono appresso di me. (VI, 258.13-16; ed. 1623, p. 62)

If Favaro was right in maintaining that the Doge missed the presentation ceremony, then *Il Saggiatore* is in error. Shall we therefore denounce as spurious a work whose authenticity has never been questioned because it is, as Caesar's wife should be, above suspicion?

What about the other half of Favaro's contention regarding the Doge: "Non potè adunque in questi giorni nè far esprimere a Galileo

¹⁵ In NAV, p. 57, Favaro read "desiderare."

il desiderio che gli fosse presentato il cannocchiale . . ."? Let us recall that in our letter Galileo says: "vedendolo desidera[. . .] da questo Ser.^{mo} Principe, mi risolvetti il di 25 stante. . ." Hence Galileo saw the Doge's desire for the telescope on or before August 25. What do we learn from the two contemporary letters cited by Favaro? The one dated August 31, 1609, says: "Di nuovo non habbiamo altro, se non la reincidenza di S. Serenità" (p. 62).¹⁶ The other, dated September 1, 1609, reports: "Il nostro Doge è stato ammalato . . . ma egli, già quattro giorni, è senza febbre" (p. 61).¹⁷ These two letters certainly prove that the Doge was sick, but do they preclude the possibility of his seeing the telescope on or before August 25? On that day the Venetian Senate passed a resolution declaring that Galileo had

ultimamente inventato un instrumento, cavato dalli secreti della prospettiva, con il quale le cose visibili lontanissime si fanno vicine alla vista, et può servire in molte occasioni, come dalla sua scrittura, con la quale lo ha presentato alla S[ignoria] N[ostra], si è inteso. (XIX, 115-16; No. 1, lines 6-10; No. 2, lines 10-13)

The document mentioned by the Senate unfortunately bears no date, but Favaro himself assigned it to August 24 (X, 250). Addressed to the Doge, it contains no indication that Galileo was aware of any illness incapacitating the man to whom he was presenting the telescope. The executive order transmitting the Senate's decision concerning Galileo to the local authorities at Padua was issued on August 25 in the name of the Doge, Leonardo Donato (XIX, 116-17).

Favaro raised a number of objections to the following passage in our letter, where Galileo resumes his narrative of the events of August 25:

Et essendomi stato hordinato nell' [. . .]re del Collegio che io mi trattenessi nella sala del Pregadi, di lì a poco [l'] Ill.^{mo} et Ecc.^{mo} S. Procurator Prioli, che è uno de' Riformatori di s[. . .] usci fuori di Collegio, e presomni per la mano mi disse come l' Ecc.^{mo} Collegio, sapendo la maniera con la quale havevo servito per anni 17 in Padova, et havendo di più conosciuta la mia cortesia nel farli dono di cosa così accetta, haveva inmediata hordinato agli Ill.^{mi} Sig.^{ri} Riformatori, che, contentandomi io, mi rinnovassino la mia condotta in vita e con stipendio di fiorini 1000 l' anno. (X, 254.28-36)¹⁸

The words "contentandomi io" were condemned by Favaro:

Anche l' affermazione contenuta nella anzidetta lettera, e per la quale il Priuli avrebbe chiesto, proprio il 25 Agosto 1609, a Galileo, se si sarebbe contentato di venir ricondotto a vita, non è conforme al vero, poichè fu appunto Galileo che, nella scrittura (disgraziatamente priva di data) di presentazione del cannocchiale, aveva espresso il desiderio di passare il resto della vita sua al servizio della Repubblica Veneta. (p. 62)

¹⁶ Citing *Lettere d' uomini illustri che fiorirono nel principio del secolo decimosettimo, non più stampate* (Venice, 1744), p. 112; cf. *Opere*, X, 255.

¹⁷ Citing *Lettere di fra Paolo Sarpi*, ed. Polidori (Florence, 1863), I, 294.

¹⁸ In *NAV*, p. 57, Favaro read "nell' uscire del Collegio" and "Riformatori di Studio."

Presumably Priuli knew that in the presentation document, assigned by Favaro to August 24, Galileo had expressed to the Doge a desire to pass "il resto della vita sua al servizio di V.S." (X, 251.31). As one of the three administrators (Riformatori) of the University of Padua, Priuli had to execute the Senate's decision of August 25

che 'l sopradetto D. Galileo Galilei sia condotto per il rimanente della vita sua a legger le Matematiche nel predetto Studio nostro di Padoa. (XIX, 116-17; No. 1, lines 14-16; No. 2, lines 16-17)

There was consequently no need for Priuli to ask Galileo if he was pleased to be reappointed for life. But why restrict the application of the words "contentandomi io" to the length of Galileo's appointment? Do they not refer also to Priuli's statement regarding the amount of Galileo's new salary? Under the circumstances, would it not be natural for a sympathetic administrator to inquire whether the professor was satisfied with his increment? Observe the inclusive character of Galileo's reply to Priuli: "dissi che mi contentavo di quanto piaceva a S. Serenità" (X, 254.40-41).

The date when Galileo's increment was to begin presents an interesting problem. His current contract embraced a six-year period, commencing September 27, 1604 (XIX, 114-15). Hence he was scheduled to receive his annual stipend of 520 florins until September 27, 1610. But in our letter he continues Priuli's summary of the Collegio's action as follows:

e che mancandomi ancora un anno a finire la condotta precedente, volevano che il stipendio cominciasse a corrermi il sopradetto presente giorno, facandomi dono dell' accrescimento d' un anno, cioè di fiorini 480 di Lire 6.4 per fiorino. (X, 254.36-39)¹⁹

The Collegio's generous gesture, however, was withdrawn by the Senate's decision that

la qual condotta gli habbi a principiar dal fine della precedente, non potendo essa condotta ricever mai augmento alcuno. (XIX, 116-17; No. 1, lines 17-19; No. 2, lines 18-19)

Therefore, it would seem, Galileo never received the bonus of 480 florins proposed by the Collegio. From the time of his conversation with Priuli on August 25, 1609, until his resignation from the University of Padua on June 15, 1610, he was in fact paid at the rate of 520 florins a year, according to the terms of the agreement then in force (XIX, 124.28-30; 125). Yet four days after the Senate denied him the bonus, Galileo tells Landucci in our letter that the Collegio's proposal was approved by the Senate.

Was Galileo still uninformed on August 29, 1609, about the Senate's action? In *Il Saggiatore*, as we just saw, he mentioned "le lettere

¹⁹ For the relation of the florin to the lira, see note 5 above.

ducali, che ancora sono appresso di me."²⁰ This communication, which has not been preserved, must have dispelled his illusions about the bonus by official notice in writing, since it was doubtless a companion piece to the order issued by the Doge to the Paduan authorities.²¹ But on what day was the Doge's letter received by Galileo?

Among his MSS there is a document labeled in his own handwriting: "Copia della parte presa in Pregadi della mia condotta in vita di f. 1000" (XIX, 115). The text of the Senate's resolution is incomplete in his copy, which ends with the two favorable provisions emphasized in his label. Galileo's copy lacks the unpleasant close: "la qual condotta gli habbi a principiar dal fine della precedente, non potendo essa condotta ricever mai augumento alcuno." Why is this last stipulation missing in his copy?

In our letter, when Galileo expresses his satisfaction "di quanto piaceva a S. Serenità," the narrative resumes as follows:

All' hora l' Ill.^{mo} Prioli, abbracciandomi, disse: "E perchè io sono di settimana e mi tocca a comandare quello che mi piace, voglio che oggi doppo desinare sia ragunato il Pregadi, cioè il Senato, e vi sia letta la vostra ricondotta e ballottata," sì come fu, restando piena con tutti i voti. (X, 254.41-45)

But the original record, still preserved in the Archivio di Stato, shows that the vote was not unanimous: there were 98 in favor of the resolution, 11 against, and 30 abstaining (XIX, 116.20-22). Here again, as in the matter of the bonus, either Galileo was misinformed or he was lying to Landucci.

Favaro was inclined to favor the first alternative with regard to the results of the voting: "non è improbabile che allo scopo di ingrandire l' onore, che con tale ricondotta veniva reso a Galileo, gli amici ch' egli aveva in Senato abbiano voluto magnificare oltre il vero la votazione con la quale era stata accolta" (p. 64). But his feeling about the bonus was different: "ci sembra impossibile che abbiano voluto indurlo in errore, col fargli credere ad una decorrenza della ricondotta che era assolutamente contraria al vero" (p. 64). His further observation about the bonus is vitiated by his misconception that Landucci was still pestering Galileo about the dowry money in 1609: "mentre, per l' indole delle relazioni sue col cognato Landucci, sarebbe credibile che Galileo avesse piuttosto qualche interesse a farsi credere in condizioni economiche più disagiate di quelle nelle quali realmente versava" (p. 64). But if Galileo was pretending, in order to deceive his brother-in-law, that his financial condition was worse than it was in reality, would he have told Landucci about his salary being nearly doubled?

Favaro attacked the credibility of a remark attributed to Priuli by Galileo in our letter:

²⁰ See p. 478 above.

²¹ See p. 479 above.

Quello che non può credersi è che siasi convocato espressamente il Senato per la ricondotta di Galileo. I Savi del Consiglio, uno dei quali era sempre di settimana (ed è esatto che nella presente circostanza era "Savio di settimana" il Priuli) avevano bensì il diritto di convocare straordinariamente il Senato; ma solo in casi urgenti e di grave momento; e tale non era certamente la ricondotta d'un professore, per quanto illustre. E quindi probabile che il Priuli abbia detto, non già che in quel giorno si sarebbe convocato il Senato per presentargli la proposta di ricondotta, ma semplicemente che la proposta sarebbe stata discussa nel giorno stesso, avendo luogo una adunanza del Senato. (p. 63)

If Favaro was right, then Galileo was again guilty of exaggerating his own importance in the Venetian scheme of things.

Antonio Priuli, who figures so prominently in our letter, wrote a Venetian chronicle covering the years 1600 to 1616. Although this book was never printed, from a manuscript copy Favaro published two excerpts of importance for our inquiry. The first one relates that on August 21, 1609, Priuli went, with Galileo and seven Venetian patricians, "a veder le meraviglie et effetti singolari del cannon di detto Galileo" (p. 69).²² In our letter Galileo says:

e sono stati moltissimi i gentil' huomini e senatori, li quali, benchè vecchi, hanno più d' una volta fatte le scale de' più alti campanili di Vene[tia] per scoprire in mare vele e vasselli tanto lontani, che venendo a tutte vele verso il porto, passavano 2 hore e più di tempo avanti che, senza il mio occhiale, potessero essere veduti. (X, 253.17-22)

The first excerpt from Priuli's book adds, with reference to Galileo and the telescope, "E poi da lui presentato in Collegio li 24 del medesimo" (pp. 69-70).²³ According to the second excerpt,

Havendo il D.^r Galileo Gallilei Fiorentino, lettore delle Mattematiche nel Studio di Padoa, presentato in Signoria il giorno d' heri un instrumento . . . fu perciò,

25 Agosto, deliberato in Senato di ricondurlo in vita sua alla predetta lettura delle Mattematiche, con stipendio de mille fiorini l' anno. (p. 71)²⁴

In our letter Galileo tells Landucci: "sono stato chiamato dalla Ser.^{ma} Signoria, alla quale mi è convenuto mostrarlo et [in] sieme a tutto il Senato, con infinito stupore di tutti . . . mi risolvetti il di 25 stante di comparire in Coll[egio]" (X, 253.15-17, 27). Galileo's reference to separate appearances before the Signoria and the Collegio elicited the following comment from Favaro:

Inoltre dalla lettera medesima apparirebbe, che prima Galileo avrebbe mostrato il cannocchiale alla Signoria ed al Senato . . . e poi il 25 si sarebbe risolto a "comparire in Collegio e farne libero dono a Sua Serenità"; e anche questa divisione del fatto in due parti non concorda colle comuni narrazioni, e non viene confermata da alcun documento. (p. 60)

But Priuli places Galileo's presentation of the telescope in the Col-

²² Cf. *Opere*, XIX, 587.5-6.

²³ Cf. *Opere*, XIX, 587.15.

²⁴ Cf. *Opere*, XIX, 588.1-2, 8-10. By a misprint the MS page number, given as 388 in *NAV*, appears as 338 in *Opere*.

legio, according to the first excerpt, and in the Signoria, according to the second, as Favaro himself pointed out (pp. 71-72).²⁵

The passages in Priuli's chronicle that corroborate the relevant parts of our letter, with minor chronological discrepancies, were first published by Favaro. It is characteristic of his honesty as a scholar that he deliberately included these extracts in an article intended to show that our letter is not authentic (p. 56). We must applaud his conduct, but can we accept his conclusion?

Perhaps we should ask at this point exactly what was Favaro's conclusion about the authenticity of our letter. In the article published in 1891 he spoke his mind on this subject three times:

non vogliamo tacere che noi nutriamo qualche dubbio sull' autenticità di essa. . . . (p. 56)

ha agli occhi nostri una certa affinità con la famosa lettera apocrifa di Galileo al P. Renieri. . . . (p. 59)

Ad ogni modo noi crediamo di poter conchiudere che, nemmeno sotto questo rispetto, è da tenersi come esattissima la narrazione contenuta nella lettera al Landucci. (pp. 72-73)

As director of the national edition of Galileo's works, he said in Volume X, which was published in 1900: "Dubitiamo gravemente dell' autenticità di questa lettera" (p. 253). Let us distinguish, however, between two contrasting attitudes. On the one hand, it is possible to regard our letter as not accurate in every detail, and yet accept it as completely genuine. On the other hand, it is impossible to doubt its authenticity without classifying it as apocryphal. But in that case, who wrote it? For what purpose? Favaro did not answer these questions, nor even ask them. Despite his vast knowledge of the personalities who affected every aspect of Galileo's career, he failed to name a single individual who would want to forge our letter. Despite his profound understanding of human behavior, he offered no suggestion why anybody should desire to perpetrate such a forgery.

If we review the history of our letter, we may discover why its character was misjudged by Favaro. It was unknown to students of Galileo's life and writings for more than two hundred years after his death. Then in 1847 it was published for the first time, with the editor describing it as written in Galileo's own handwriting.²⁶ Favaro exclaimed:

tale non è, e come copia venne riconosciuta dagli stessi ordinatori dei manoscritti galileiani, i quali anzi la compresero in un volume contenente, come nell' indice premessovi è dichiarato: "Lettere scientifiche di Galileo esistenti in copia dal" anno 1588 al 1640." (pp. 55-56)

²⁵ Favaro evaluated Priuli's reliability as follows: "Non ci sembra infatti che nessuna circostanza addotta dal Priuli . . . possa esser revocata in dubbio" (*NAV*, p. 74), overlooking his own annotation on Priuli's claim to have seen a certain sight with Galileo's telescope, "Questo non può assolutamente essere accaduto" (*NAV*, p. 69 n.).

²⁶ Albèri's edition of Galileo's *Opere*, VI, 75-77.

Besides appearing suddenly after an absence of two centuries, and being mistaken for an autograph, our letter was the only piece of the Galileo-Landucci correspondence to survive, and it contained errors (or so Favaro thought). This combination of circumstances naturally aroused suspicion in the mind of a man who could write: "Ed invero quando si tratti delle manifestazioni del pensiero di un Galileo, nessuna cura dovrà stimarsi superflua per garantirne la perfetta autenticità."²⁷

The original of our letter is lost, and what we have is a contemporary copy. Favaro said: "Noi la diremmo volentieri copia del tempo," and in the national edition he called it a "Copia di mano sincrona" (p. 56).²⁸ Not all of Galileo's voluminous correspondence has been preserved in the original. Many an important letter of unquestioned authenticity exists only in a copy. Of the numerous examples that might be cited, the letter reporting the discovery of Jupiter's satellites is closest to our letter in time and contents (X, 273-78). Both were addressed to private persons, not to governmental bureaus and institutions with facilities for keeping incoming documents on file.

We have already seen that Favaro did not ask who forged our letter and why. But he understood the method: our letter contains "uno squarcio autobiografico, compilato in parte su altri documenti noti" (p. 59). In other words, where our letter agrees with other documents, it was fraudulently compiled from them; but where it differs from them, it was ignorantly forged. This pair of critical principles, operating together, might well cut any text to shreds. Even so, our letter offers stout resistance. For example, the conversation between Galileo and Priuli on August 25, 1609, is known only from our letter; yet Favaro admitted: "In quanto al colloquio di Galileo col Priuli, nulla osta a credere ch' esso abbia avuto luogo" (p. 63). Were it not for our letter, how would we know that in the first burst of enthusiasm over the telescope, the Venetian government proposed to give Galileo a bonus of 480 florins, which was canceled on second thought?

Favaro was convinced, it may be recalled, of spurious traits in the style and vocabulary of our letter.²⁹ Yet he noticed that an expression in it "trovasi, quasi con le identiche parole, nella scrittura di presentazione" (p. 60). The latter document was addressed by Galileo to the Doge on August 24, 1609, according to the national edition. Its description of the telescope's power and possible uses stands to the left in the parallel columns below. To the right appear five matching quotations from our letter, written five days after the letter to the Doge.

²⁷ *Bollettino di Bibliografia e Storia delle Scienze Matematiche*, XIX (1917), 42.

²⁸ Cf. *Opere*, X, 253.

²⁹ See p. 473 above.

A LETTER TO THE DOGE

un nuovo artifizio di un occhiale cavato dalle più recondite speculazioni di prospettiva, il quale conduce gl' oggetti visibili così vicini all' occhio, et così grandi et distinti gli rappresenta, che quello che è distante, v.g., nove miglia, ci apparisce come se fussesse lontano un miglio solo . . . potendosi in mare in assai maggior lontananza del consueto scoprire legni et vele dell' inimico, si che per due hore et più di tempo possiamo prima scoprir lui che egli scuopra noi, et distinguendo il numero et la qualità de i vasselli . . . et parimente potendosi in terra . . . oltre a molte altre utilità (X, 250.6-251.21)

LETTER TO LANDUCCI

un occhiale, fabbricato con tale artificio (X, 253.7-8)

havere fondamento su la scientia di prospettiva (X, 253.11-12)

l' effetto di questo strumento è il rappresentare quell' oggetto che è, ver[bi] gratia, lontano 50 miglia, così grande e vicino come se fussi lontano miglia 5 (X, 253.22-24)

per scoprire in mare vele e vasselli tanto lontani, che venendo a tutte vele verso il porto, passavano 2 hore e più di tempo avanti che, senza il mio occhiale, potessero essere veduti (X, 253.19-22)

havendo io conosciuto quanto vi sarebb[e] stato d' utilità per le cose si di mare come di terra (X, 253.25-26)

If these resemblances are to be attributed to an unidentified contemporary forger, he must have had not only a motive but also access to the Doge's archives.

The authenticity of our letter was doubted by Favaro for the four reasons indicated above. But even more effective in dissuading him from accepting it as genuine was his failure to understand why it was directed to Landucci.²⁰ If we read the letter, however, without any misconception about the relations between its sender and receiver, we shall have no trouble in seeing why Galileo addressed it to Landucci rather than anyone else. After the salutation, "Car.^{mo} et Hon.^{do} Cogniato," the letter begins:

Dopo che ricevi il vino mandatomi da voi, non vi ho più scritto per mancamento di materia. Vi scrivo hora, perchè ho da dirvi di nuovo che sto in dubbio se di tal nuova sentirete più di contento o di dispiacere, poi che vien tolta la speranza d' havermi a rimpatriare, ma da occasione utile e honorata. (X, 253.1-5)

Then it tells the story of the telescope from the start to the Collegio's action, as summarized by Priuli. To explain his reply to Priuli's question whether he was satisfied, Galileo says: "Io, sapendo come la speranza ha le ale molto pigre e la fortuna velocissime, dissi che mi contentavo" (X, 254.39-40). After reporting the Senate's decision to reappoint him for life, the letter ends as follows:

talchè io mi trovo legato qua in vita, e bisognerà che io mi contenti di godere la patria qualche volta ne' mesi delle vacanze.

²⁰ See p. 474.

E questo è quanto per hora ho da dirvi. Non mancate di darmi nuove di voi e de' vostri negotii, e salutate in mio nome tutti li amici, raccomandandomi a la Virginia e a tutti di casa. Il Signore vi prosperi.

Di Vinetia li 29 d' Agosto 1609.

Vostro Aff.^{mo} Cog.^{to}
Galileo Galilei.³¹

Long before the date of our letter, Galileo had been discussing with the Tuscan court the possibility of his being designated mathematician to the Grand Duke.³² He hoped to resign from the University of Padua, quit the territory of the Venetian Republic, and return to his native land. But the Tuscan negotiations were dragging on without positive result, when suddenly Venice nearly doubled his salary and granted him life tenure: "la speranza ha le ale molto pigre e la fortuna velocissime."³³ Permanent repatriation now seemed remote. Only in the summer time would he be able to see his sister Virginia and her husband, whom he had recently helped to obtain a steady government job at Florence.³⁴ This mixture of good and bad news constitutes the message sent by Galileo in this genuine letter to Landucci.³⁵

City College, New York

³¹ *Opere*, X, 254.45-52.

³² *Opere*, X, 154.19-21; 211.19-24; 231-34.

³³ When Galileo wrote these words to Landucci, perhaps he had at the back of his mind the opening lines of Petrarch's sonnet: "Poi che mia speme è lunga a venir troppo / E de la vita il trapassar sì corto. . ." His disciple and biographer, Vincenzo Viviani, tells us: "gustando in estremo la poesia, aveva a mente . . . tra i toscani quasi tutto 'l Petrarca." *Opere*, XIX, 627.895-97.

³⁴ See p. 475 above.

³⁵ A most curious product of Favaro's attack on its authenticity is a remark in Emil Wohlwill, *Galilei und sein Kampf für die copernicanische Lehre* (Hamburg, Leipzig, 1909-26), I, 250. Speaking of Galileo's decision to accept the appointment at Padua for life, Wohlwill said: "Seine Gedanken bei dieser Entscheidung trifft sicherlich der apokryphe Brief vom 29. August 1609." The forger was also, it seems, an excellent mind reader!

ALBERT THIBAUDET, EUROPEAN

By MURIEL D. TOMLINSON

In his discussion of the patterns of thought in Albert Thibaudet, Professor Leo Spitzer concludes that Thibaudet's world is an "Elastic" one, modeled after France and accepted happily by a conservative historian bent upon justifying the past.¹ Mr. Spitzer's analysis is based chiefly upon two articles which were published after the critic's death. In view of the breadth of Thibaudet's erudition and the scope of his interests, all who approach him realize, of course, that the complete picture will emerge only when the innumerable parts have been joined in a unified whole and an attempt made to discover the patterns which are there, the relationships between these patterns, and the unity behind them.

Thibaudet himself has warned his readers frequently that he has touched only one facet of a problem and that he will return to the same question another day.² Often he forgets to return, but he has at least indicated that he has not exhausted his ideas on the subject under consideration. Since this is true, I should like to comment upon two of his other essays in order to point out that, from these two articles alone, one might be led to conclusions quite different from those cited above. One of the articles, political in nature, was published about six years before the author's death. The other, more strictly literary, came earlier. Though differing greatly in subject matter, they reveal a similar train of thought which may prove of

¹ Leo Spitzer, "Patterns of Thought in the Style of Albert Thibaudet," *MLQ*, IX (1948), 259-72 and 478-91.

² Benjamin Crémieux (*NRF*, CVII [1922], 223) calls Thibaudet's approach "des sondages qui se complètent," and Bergson himself says of Thibaudet that he stops "à chaque rond-point dans la traversée d'une ville, à chaque croix forestière s'il est en forêt . . ." (*NRF*, CCLXXIV [1936], 9). Mr. Spitzer takes the latter statement to mean that Bergson feels that Thibaudet has no feeling for the natural flow of time, but Bergson goes on to say that Thibaudet has treated "à sa manière, toujours personnelle, bien des questions que j'avais laissées de côté" and therefore seems to me to be praising Thibaudet for extending the philosophy of the *élan vital* into fields which Bergson himself did not treat. For example, Thibaudet in his *Le Bergsonisme*, 8th ed. (Paris, 1923), II, 156, mentions that Bergson himself did not apply his theory to the field of history, but that the *L'Évolution Créatrice* has opened the way for a new conception of history. Moreover, Bergson's description of Thibaudet's approach is reminiscent of his picture of an evolution which is *not* unilateral (*L'Évolution Créatrice* [Paris, 1907], p. 58) but which proceeds "sur des lignes divergentes, dont chacune aboutissait elle-même à un carrefour d'où rayonnaient de nouvelles voies, et ainsi de suite indéfiniment." Likewise, Thibaudet's "courbes" and "lignes" and "correspondances" need not be merely the grouping and regrouping of many parts within a fixed, static framework, but rather the approach of Bergson's chess-player, who gets "une représentation du tout qui lui permet, à un moment quelconque, de visualiser les éléments." *L'Énergie spirituelle* (Paris, 1919), p. 174.

some interest to those who, in other essays, have found Thibaudet completely and conservatively French.

As a literary critic for the *Nouvelle Revue Française*, Thibaudet shared that periodical's interest in the novel, and it is with this literary genre that his earlier essay deals. One of a group called "Letters from France," written for the *London Mercury*, it bears the title, "Fathers and Children in the Novel,"³ and is concerned chiefly with placing in its proper position Martin du Gard's novel, *Les Thibault*, which Thibaudet says will take its place among the chief works of our imaginative literature. Typical of Thibaudet, this essay is short, but penetrating and comprehensive at the same time. Revealing combined powers of analysis and synthesis, Thibaudet in a few pages manages to isolate the theme of the novel, give his reasons for the failure of the drama in presenting such a theme, show in what ways Martin du Gard has improved upon Butler's treatment in the *Way of All Flesh*, and indicate the place of the theme in European literature—all of which discussion, incidentally, is couched in Bergsonian terms.

It is the European note on which Thibaudet begins and ends his essay that is our chief concern here. Having observed first that the theme of parent-child conflict has had its place in pre-Victorian as well as later English literature and that, not confined to England, the theme has played its part in the development of the novel in those other two strongholds of the genre, France and Russia, he concludes with a consideration of the possible influences upon Martin du Gard. Observing that, though the analogies between Martin du Gard and Butler have particularly struck him, others could be found with Dostoevsky, he then states that fewer could be drawn with the fathers of the French novel, and ends his study with the following significant statement:

But, if the author of *Les Thibault* breaks the traditional circle of the French novel, other writers have done as much. And we arrive at a moment of literary history when the three great groups, English, French, and Russian, melt in the general current of the European novel, to which the future of literature probably belongs. [Europe realizes herself] in the world of the spirit at the very moment when she seems to become most impossible in the world of the flesh, of self-interest, of political chicanery. *Les Thibault* takes a place in this current of the European novel, whose critics will undoubtedly have to straighten out the complicated map.

Thibaudet is undoubtedly a thorough student of the literary heritage of his own country, but there is little here, it seems to me, to indicate that "all existing historical entities are seen by Thibaudet as patterned on that unquestionable and most enjoyable reality of realities: France."⁴ Aware of the historical development of the novel in

³ Albert Thibaudet, "Letter from France: Fathers and Children in the Novel," *London Mercury*, X (May, 1924), 83-85.

⁴ Spitzer, *loc. cit.*, p. 491.

England and Russia as well as in France, Thibaudet stands here, not with his face toward the past, rearranging and regrouping the *déjà fait*, but rather within the flow of the literary stream, conscious of a new current which, though unpredictable, must be followed by the literary critics in its future course.⁵ Furthermore, even in this literary article, he shows his consciousness of and critical attitude toward the contemporary political and social scene.

Without further comment for the moment, let us go from this European "world of the spirit" to the European "world of the flesh," and consider Thibaudet's second article,⁶ which deals with the League of Nations and a possible European Federation. As in most of his articles, Thibaudet's train of thought is set into motion by a contemporary publication, this time Daniel Halévy's *Fin des Notables*. Pointing out that Halévy, in presenting the intellectual history of the Third Republic, speaks only of reactionary thought, as represented by Taine, Renan, and Flaubert, Thibaudet states that we cannot now ignore the fact that the Republic has succeeded and that the Republican thought which at the end of the century was to win its test case, the Dreyfus Affair, had already begun in 1873 under Renouvier, who, he thinks, was without doubt, along with Cournot, the strongest philosophical mind of his epoch.

Then, discussing at some length Renouvier's stand on the Alsace-Lorraine question, Thibaudet proceeds to draw the title of his own articles from Renouvier's analysis and show the significance of that interpretation for the Europe of 1930. Renouvier, writing in 1873 that France had yielded her right to Alsace-Lorraine but that the rights of the people of Alsace-Lorraine were not hers to yield, had given France the following sound advice: "Qu'elle cherche de franc cœur la paix et la justice européennes, elle trouvera par surcroit la satisfaction de son honneur et de ses vrais intérêts," and had described her position by drawing an analogy from the realm of religion.

La position que donnerait dès maintenant à la France la politique que nous conseillons, c'est celle d'un appel permanent à l'Europe pacifatrice et justicière en faveur des populations de l'Alsace-Lorraine et de leur droit de déposer d'elles-mêmes. On donnait, dans les temps où régnait la théologie, le nom d'appelants au futur concile, à des partisans des doctrines désavouées par l'Église, mais qui, ne voulant point rompre avec l'Église, qui résumait à leurs yeux la paix et l'unité se déclareraient en état de protestation pacifique et d'attente, jusqu'au jour où une assemblée plus authentique et mieux autorisée de docteurs et de juges prononcerait sur leur appel. De même, la France délaissée par le sentiment européen, et qui, sous plusieurs rapports, mérita de l'être, la France, forte de la justice de sa cause, quand il s'agit non plus d'elle, mais de l'Alsace-Lorraine, doit se poser en appelante à la future assemblée européenne: non pas seulement au futur congrès, si ce mot doit toujours désigner ces froides réunions

⁵ For additional examples of Thibaudet's awareness of literary trends, cf., among others, "Homo faber," *NRF*, CLXXXIX (1929), 844-50, and "Sur la poésie," *NRF*, CLXXIII (1928), 234-41.

⁶ Albert Thibaudet, "L'Appel au Concile," *NRF*, CCV (1930), 542-54.

de diplomates qui, à l'issue de chaque guerre, se disputent tristement sur la limite des faits accomplis; mais à l'assemblée qui représentera pour la première fois la délégation de justice et de paix des peuples et des gouvernements.

If, writes Thibaudet, this comparison of the protesting annexed peoples to the *appelants au futur concile* was fitting in Renouvier's day, how much more appropriate it is in 1930! The present political difficulties are those of *appelants*. *Appelants* to the existing council, fortunately, and not to a future council, for the pact of the S.D.N. and the treaty of Versailles itself envisage a right of appeal. "Un jurisprudence est en marche, qui créera un statut d'appelant." The protection of minorities and the control of mandates make up the positive and constructive side of the institution at Geneva. "Ce sont eux qui lui donnent, au-dessus même de sa figure de concile, un caractère de super-État."

Furthermore, the continuous creation of the treaty of Versailles, which Poincaré understood as a politics of control, of vigilance, and of force practiced by France, is something quite different and must be transferred from Paris to Geneva. "Si l'institution de Genève fonctionne régulièrement pendant plusieurs générations, ce sera cette adaptation progressive qui produira les changements et le renouvellement nécessaires, assurés jusqu'ici par les guerres." One destroys only what one replaces, declares Thibaudet, and one will destroy war only in replacing it in its useful function, which is movement, transformation. Then, visualizing what might be accomplished through the League of Nations, he says of the Europe of the future:

La carte d'Europe en 2030 différera autant de la carte d'Europe en 1930 que celle-ci diffère de la carte d'Europe en 1830. Il n'est pas chimérique de penser que ces modifications se seront faites pacifiquement, auront été surveillées, enregistrées, régularisées par la Société des Nations ou la Fédération Européenne. Ni de penser qu'on les rendra de plus en plus inutiles, parce que les frontières deviendront de plus en plus plastiques, perméables, théoriques, que les métaphores de bastion et de couloir feront place à celles de pont et de plaque tournante. Un légiste français, ambassadeur à Londres au temps de la Révolution, écrivait à Pitt: "Les principes du gouvernement français sont immuables comme l'éternelle raison!" Des principes, soit! mais les frontières. . . Celles de Versailles sont probablement les meilleures qu'on ait trouvées jusqu'ici, mais ces meilleures sont humaines, ont leurs défauts, font leurs victimes, demandent ça et là des retouches, en demanderont toujours, comme la galère salaminienne et le couteau de Janot. Elles ne sont pas immuables comme l'éternelle raison de nos légitimes. Elles sont les premières qui aient été conques et aménagées selon un principe politique, avec un organe d'adaptation permanent, non encore un cerveau, mais, en attendant le cerveau, constitué par la société des idées, ou des esprits, une moelle épinière, celle des bureaux genevois.

Hardly the "Eleatic" world of a conservative historian!

Thibaudet's feet were on the ground, however philosophical the trend of his thought, and even when picturing this idealized Europe of the future, he indicates his awareness of the fact that the organ in which he put his hopes was still imperfect. In the next five and a half

years he watched with anxiety the waning interest in the League of Nations.⁷ Aware of the expanding cloud of totalitarianism, he deplored its coming both from a literary and a political standpoint, for he knew that it dropped in its wake a poison fatal to the intellectual life upon which the future progress of mankind would depend. Though Thibaudet's essays are filled with his down-to-earth Burgundian humor, he was neither happy nor complacent about the political situation in France or in Europe as a whole. From the First World War on he had spoken out many times against the extreme nationalist spirit in France, and he departed from his usual position of neutral, independent critic whenever he felt that the French were turning away from the ideal of international cooperation.⁸

In the realm of ideas, Thibaudet admitted no barriers. Though it was, of course, impossible for him to know all cultures as well as he knew his own—broad though his background was—his spirit embraced humanity, wiping out the bastions of the mind as his Europe of the future was to destroy the bastions between nations. Welcoming the League of Nations as the only place where the varying philosophies of the world could meet in a search for further truth, he would have welcomed also a European Commonwealth in which France and French culture would contribute their share to a wide diversity within the greater unity.⁹ Encompassing Thibaudet the Frenchman, was Thibaudet the European.

Guilford College

⁷ Cf. *NRF*, "La Retraite des mystiques," CCVI (1930), 712-20; "Doctrines," CCXVI (1931), 455-62; "Les Europes," CCXLII (1933), 726-31; "Sur un plan universitaire," CCLII (1934), 425-30; "Affaires," CCLXVIII (1936), 99-104.

⁸ Cf. *NRF*, "Sur la démolition de l'intelligence," LXXVI (1920), 129-40; "La Conscience libre et la guerre," LXXXVIII (1921), 67-80; "Le Germanisme et la France," CVIII (1922), 329-38; "Autour de Roland," CXVIII (1923), 80-88; "Tortoni et l'Europe," CLXXXV (1929), 233-41; "Dix-huitième siècle," CCXXXVI (1933), 814-20.

⁹ In a footnote (n. 13), Mr. Spitzer points out some of Thibaudet's references to Jewish writers and influences and concludes that the "prerequisite for anti-Semitism . . . the feeling that there is present in Judaism a cluster of features that are unassimilable and immutable" is certainly present in Thibaudet's writings. He states also that Thibaudet's emphasis on the maintenance of group differences is the reaction of a "conservative thinker who accepts the being of man as historically determined"—not a Bergsonist—and that, in this respect, Thibaudet differs from a progressive like Gide, "who would be more apt to accept the peculiarities of a minority as only one stage in a long evolutionary process." Thibaudet is a pluralist, obviously, and he speaks of the Catholic and Protestant as well as of the Jewish strains of influence. In the article under consideration, for example, he speaks of the League of Nations as one terrain where the Protestant thread is very apparent, since the League was more a creation of the Presbyterian Woodrow Wilson than of the president of the United States. Thibaudet speaks, likewise, of all kinds of complementary groups, from the smaller provincial segments within France to the larger complements of East and West; and thus, it seems to me, he is providing a background for *pro* everything, rather than *anti* anything. It is interesting to note, in this regard, that Albert Guérard in his *France of Tomorrow* (Stanford, 1941), p. 140, calls pluralism a spirit which is "in accord with the tradition of Anglo-

Saxon liberalism" and, like Thibaudet, he pictures (*ibid.*, p. 272) a United Europe in which the many smaller groups—Catalans, Basques, Flemings, Slovaks, Croats, et cetera—will be encouraged more than before to maintain their cultural differences, while nationalism in the bad, political sense, will be wiped out. Moreover, pluralism, not uniformity, it seems to me, is in accordance with the Bergsonian philosophy. In connection with the genre of criticism, Thibaudet himself writes of Bergsonism (*NRF*, CLXV [1927], 801): "Ce qui fait au contraire de l'ionisme ou du bergsonisme une saine atmosphère pour la critique, c'est leur pluralisme, ce sentiment des individus différents et adverses par lesquels la nature tourne, emporte, annule notre principe pratique de contradiction." And Bergson himself, in his *L'Energie Spirituelle* (p. 28) pictures human societies developing in such a way that "les volontés individuelles s'insèrent sans se déformer dans la volonté sociale et que les diverses sociétés entrent à leur tour, sans perdre leur originalité ni leur indépendance, dans une société plus vaste" in order to obtain, among other things, "la variété la plus riche." I should like to note here also that, in one of the instances cited by Mr. Spitzer ("Autour de Drumont," *NRF*, CCXIII [1931]), Thibaudet is merely showing the potency of myths and pointing out that the myth of Jewish usurpation of France fell upon fertile ground because it had been preceded by other myths of usurpation by other groups. He leaves little room for anti-Semitism in his statement: "Il ne semble pas que l'Eglise ait expié sa faute plus qu'elle ne le devait. Il y a d'abord dans le principe de l'antisémitisme un manque de charité qui ne sied pas à un chrétien, et il n'était pas injuste que l'inhumanité dont les cléricaux firent preuve dans l'Affaire Dreyfus fut punie" (p. 912).

REVIEWS

Robert Henryson. By MARSHALL W. STEARNS. New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. Pp. x + 155. \$2.50.

Professor Stearns presumably began this book with the best of intentions: to revive our interest in a poet neglected because he wrote north of the Humber, and to do so, in the words of the *Pins and Needles* cast, by making him "sing a song of social significance." The reviewer, who has awaited the book with sincere enthusiasm, is sorry to see half-truth substituted for an approximate whole, and our view of a humane poet momentarily distorted by the label "humanitarian," which wrenches him out of his legitimate role as individualistic craftsman and representative of his time. The distortions would have been catastrophic if Stearns had hated his author instead of loving him—for that reason his method has to be called in question.

The book has its positive virtues. "The Poetry and Life of Robert Henryson" records the scanty facts of reputation, canon, and biography; "Politics, Religion, and Law" and "The Socio-Economic Background" describe the reign of James III and Henryson's place in it; "Henryson and Chaucer" traces with some skill an intimate relationship between two good poets; "The Planet Portraits" reveals, in a fashion which recalls Curry on Chaucer, Henryson's intelligent use of science; "The Meeting of the Lovers" demonstrates that Troilus' half-recognition of the leper Cresseid is not pathetic fancy but a genuine reflex from Aristotelian and Augustinian theories of cognition; and "The Poet as Humanitarian" tries to decide whether Henryson's heart was in the right place. Appendixes include a bibliography of the *Testament*, a comparison of Ovid and Fulgentius on the Four Horses of the Sun, and a selected bibliography of the poet.

All of these studies are useful, though they are far from bringing peace for the poet even in our own time. Reluctant as one is to make the direct charge, it must be said that the book abounds in errors—of biography, history, source-study, and the projection of milieu.

Stearns has enough modern respect for biography not to work out a conjectural life. He casts doubt on Kinaston's ripe anecdote about Henryson's death-bed incantation; we might add that its authenticity suffers not because Kinaston is confused in chronology, but because it is a typical "merry jest" and because Kinaston is too late to be an authority. Stearns is also somewhat uncritical of the documents about the Dunfermline "notarius publicus" and the Glasgow "Magister . . . in Artibus." H. Harvey Wood (in his edition of the *Poems and Fables* [Edinburgh, 1933], p. xiii) is only one of those who remark that the name is too common to allow absolute identification with the poet.

The use of history is another matter. One is always glad to have a new conjecture à clef, but the perils of worshipping the poor thing which is mine own enforce hard-headed qualification. Some of the *Fables* may, as Stearns says, contain pointed allusions: *The Lion and the Mouse* to the kidnapping of James III; *The Trial of the Fox* to a rebellion of the bastard Angus against his father, John, Lord of the Isles; *The Wolf and the Wether* to the king's baseborn favorites; and *The Paddock and the Mouse* to the treason of Albany, James III's younger brother. Yet Scotland as well as Aesop's Greece and

Renart's France had plenty of flatterers, baseborn, favorites, and traitors. Even the most plausible identification, the kidnapping, involves a common crime and a frequent medieval political device. Tempting as it is to narrow the date of the *Fables* to "the late seventies or the early eighties," one is at a loss to see why "the known facts of the poet's life" support the allusions or clarify chronology. Henryson lived a long time. Similarly, the mention in *Orpheus* of "symonie and wrang Intrusion;/ abbottis and all men of religioum" might reflect James III's intrusion of Henry Crichton over the elected Alexander Thomson in 1472, but it comes too close to traditional didactics and an ever-recurrent medieval situation to be very convincing. Possibility and certitude are different things in careful literary history.

When Stearns tries a positive approach to sources, like Chaucer and the documents behind the *Planet Portraits*, he has genuine success. Yet the book as a whole betrays weakness in literary background. *The Fox and the Wolf*, for instance, is said to be an attack on the confessional and a sign of incipient reformism (pp. 27-28). It is nothing of the sort; it is the traditional satire on the abusers of the confessional, the easy Friar Confessor and the uncontrite penitent who will not make restitution or mend his evil ways. "Freir Wolf Waitskaith" with his Franciscan "Russet Coull off gray" is the double of Chaucer's Friar, "an esy man to give penance," and the uncontrite Fox is a cynical version of *Piers Plowman's Coueytise*, who "wende ryflynge were restitucioun" because he knew no French "but of the ferthest ende of Norfolke." The beast epic has plenty of seminal parallels, from the story of how Renart tried to eat his confessor (*Branche VII*, of the thirteenth century) to that of "How Reynard Shrove Him" in Caxton's *Reynard* (Chapter XII), which has many resemblances to Henryson. This attack on abuses is no more a demonstration of the "ineffectiveness of the act of confession" than certain modern doubts are demonstrations of the ineffectiveness of nuclear physics.

Citation of *Renart* brings up a surprising fact, that Stearns only once refers to the Reynardian tradition. Surely the most pressing problem connected with Henryson is an exhaustive study of the relationship of "Aesop," the *Isopets*, and the beast epic to the *Fables*. Only the most casual attempts have been made to approach the subject—by Diebler, Plessow, Gregory Smith, and Janet M. Smith (see her *French Background of Middle Scots Literature* [Edinburgh, 1934], pp. 78-80). It demands a full-scale hunt through French and Latin literature. The whole linking effect of the *Fables*, their satirical rather than moral nature and their medieval color, seem to stem from the beast epic. Almost nothing can be done in assessing Henryson until we know this literary context. Though it would have been an ideal starting-point for his sociological interpretation, Stearns gives us little of all this. His attempt to make the outlaw fox in *The Fox and the Wolf* a humanitarian symbol of revolt against feudal oppressors suffers, as he says, because "the evidence is tantalizingly confused and contradictory" (p. 117). It might have been less so with an appeal to the sources and a decision whether Scottish outlaws differed from those of France.

Commenting on two portions of *The Sheep and the Dog* (p. 126), Stearns remarks, "In this and in the preceding passage, the poet reaches the heights of his criticism of the age. Simony (he says) is held for no sin, and now he is blithe who may gain the most with usury." We are not told that Henryson is adapting a perennial formula of the *laudator temporis acti*, the Abuses of the Age (see Brown and Robbins, *Index of Middle English Verse* [New York, 1943], p. 740). Stearns does say that the medieval preacher often inveighed

against simony and usury, but he fails to observe that the charges are inevitably orthodox, because predicated on a feudal-ecclesiastical hierarchy. To say that "The novelty of the poet's comment lies in the fact that he selects the feudal lords . . . as the chief culprits" is to ignore the Franciscan preachers and the Wakefield Master.

These failures to mine the sources are the more disappointing because Stearns succeeds so well when he opposes Chaucer to the *Testament*. He sees how Chaucer's "sodein Diomede" became Henryson's callous forsaker, how Calchas was made more congenial to his daughter in order to heighten the pathos, and how Cresseid, though simplified by Henryson's moral purpose, still shows signs of her complex origin. Henryson had the wit to make her no mere creature of lust, no sentimental mirror to maidens of the danger of the first misstep; he provided her with a plot of contract, crime, and punishment which complicated her sin with pride and blasphemy. One is grateful for Stearns's discovery of a similar formula in *Scogan*, though one should add that the theme of Love's Scoffer Punished is a commonplace, treated notably in *Troilus* (the *innamoramento*) and the *Kingis Quair*, and that the blasphemy of Love appears in the *Legend* and the epilogue to *Troilus*.

The treatment of courtly love and satire on women in the same chapter is less successful. Stearns is too anxious to trace Henryson's few "cavalier" references to the courtly code to biography and social evolution:

Henryson seems to be referring, with some humorous self-disparagement, to his own difficulties with love at an advanced age. His remarks may appear unusual and perhaps unexpected in view of the treatment of the same tradition by his acknowledged master, but this general change in attitude from idealistic to realistic, or even satiric, simply reflects a change in the respective societies of the two poets and documents a stage in the decay of feudalism. For much of the complex ritual of courtly love had apparently fallen of its own irrelevant and unintelligible weight in Henryson's time.

This statement is bewildering. Chaucer's own pose, though infinitely more comprehensive and ambiguous, is notoriously similar to Henryson's. Satire exists as the verso of the idealistic coin in the troubadours, Andreas Capellanus, the *Roman de la Rose*, Chaucer, and Henryson's successor Dunbar. A glance at Huizinga will show that the desperate ruses of a dying culture in the fifteenth century increased, if anything, the "complex ritual." To say that the debate on love in *The Cock and the Fox* between the courtly Pertok, the lustful Sprutok, and the prudish Toppok brings us "nearer to Henryson's personal attitude towards courtly love" and reveals that his "morality is that of the twentieth century" is to overlook the fact that Chaucer's *Parliament* is as obvious a source as the *Nun's Priest's Tale*. Where else could Henryson have so easily found birds in debate about love, with courtly falcons, a lustful goose, duck and cuckoo, and a prudish turtle-dove? Henryson, like Chaucer, is dramatic and unwilling to weight the case; he presents the usual three sides of the problem—orthodox morality, lusty sensuality, and courtly restraint.

These remarks lead us from literary sources to "socio-economic background." Throughout the book there is an overemphasis on Henryson's courage and plain speech, which, laudable as it is, was scarcely unique or evidence that Henryson was not a court poet. Dunbar, Lyndsay, and Douglas shared the tradition, which was formalized in the "flyting," a revealing example of which is Lyndsay's combat with his king, James V. Stearns's evidence for the "humanitarian" label may be summarized: *The Cock and the Jewel* rejects the court and exalts the

common man; *The Town Mouse and the Country Mouse* prefers the country cousin to the burgess; *The Fox, the Wolf, and the Cadger* satirizes merchants; the "key to the character of the Fox" in *The Fox and the Wolf* "may be his marginal social status" as a thief and outlaw; *The Lion and the Mouse* prefers the commons to the nobility; *The Fox, the Wolf, and the Husbandman* opposes law to an oppressive concept of loyalty; *The Wolf and the Lamb* favors the peasant over the rich and powerful and their creature, the lawyer; *The Sheep and the Dog* criticizes the judiciary by having the Sheep hailed into court only "because that he wes pure." "It becomes increasingly evident that Henryson not only champions the poor but also specifically identifies himself with the poor. The conjecture that the poet was not a court poet would gain convincing support from this internal evidence if from nothing else."

The evidence might be more convincing if the other side of the case had been advanced. Henryson admittedly does not seem as much of a court poet as Dunbar, who wrote both begging poems and occasional panegyrics. But most of the satirical thrusts just cited are congenial enough to a court poet, if by that is meant the poet of a king's court (as contrasted to a baronial poet like the author of *Gawain*). Royal poets are never likely to be too sympathetic to the feudal lord, the church, the bourgeois, or the grasping lawyer. Chaucer's Man of Law, his tyrants January and Walter, his ecclesiastical rascals, and his humorous burgesses come to mind. Dunbar is even more satiric: "Of Folkis Evill to Pleis" attacks the wealthy lords; "To the Merchantis of Edinburgh," the evils of the city; "Tydingis fra the Sessioum," the law-courts; and a host of poems the rascals in the Church. Dunbar's "A General Satyre" shows that Henryson was not the only Middle Scots poet to sponsor the cause of the poor: "sic hunger, sic cowartis, and sic cummer / Within this land was nevir hard nor sene"; "Sa mony lordis . . . Nor seis the dulis that commonis dois sustene"; "Sa littill resson to help the commoun cawis, / That all the lawis ar not sett by ane bene"; "sic regatouris the peure men to prevente"; "Sa small refugeis the peur man to debait."

A wholly tentative case might be made for taking Henryson as a court poet. The condemnation of bastards in *The Trial of the Fox* is aristocratic. Flattery is chided in *The Cock and the Fox* as in any Advice to Princes. The Horatian Cock in *The Cock and the Jewel* exalts royal splendor and order when he says "Thow art aine Jowell for ane Lord or King"; in the *moralitas* Henryson calls him a fool for rejecting "sciens," rather than "a poor person of character and integrity." *The Wolf and the Wether* may be ambivalent, but the plain surface is aristocratic in its scorn for the poor man who counterfeits the lord:

Thairfair I counsell men of everilk stait
To knaw thame self, and quhome thay suld forbair,
And fall not with thair better in debait;
Supposis thay be als galland in thair geir,
It settis na servand for to uphold weir,
Nor clym so hie, quhill he fall of the ledder;
Bot think upon the Wolf, and on the wedder!

In *The Lion and the Mouse* we find some satire on feudal oppressors, but Stearns himself admits that the moral is that of the traditional Book of Governors: "Henryson is careful to explain that the common people are restless only because of the bad example set them by their lords and princes." The Lion's kindness to the Mouse reflects the old royal-proletarian alliance, paralleled in literature by *Piers Plowman* and paralleled in life by the ironic

quelling of the Peasant's Revolt of 1381, where the peasants were deluded by their allegiance to and expectations from an unworthy king. It is one thing to confront the ideal of noblesse oblige with evil practice, and another to take the pragmatic, humanitarian position which throws the ideal into the discard.

Henryson is as much a humanitarian as Chaucer or the authors of *Renart* and *Piers* and no more. At the end of the book, Stearns is anxious to modify some of his extreme stands and to gain credence for his statement that "Henryson's verse [is] virtually unique in fifteenth-century literature." But the attempt to rest the whole case on socio-economics, and the refusal to consider poetics (p. 106), lead to damaging qualification and false literary contrast:

Thus, Henryson's ultimate solution of the problems of his day, above and beyond his particular aversion towards the feudal lords and his compassion for the poor, is probably the same as that of any other intelligent man of good will in his age. . . . At heart, although both would return to an idealized *status quo*, the author of *Piers* is a conformist, writing from a clerical point of view, whereas Henryson is an individualist writing from a humanitarian point of view.

To say that the author of *Piers* is a conformist is to draw wrong conclusions from the careful work that has been done to show that he was not a Protestant; to imply he is not an individualist is to ignore those students who have shown that his solution is not sociology but individual salvation and that his method is structurally unique, unreduced, and organic. And to oppose Henryson to the clerical position is to forget that he has never been shown to be either a cleric or a layman.

These reluctantly urged criticisms of the book demand special disclaimer. The reviewer, like Stearns, admires Henryson's poetry, takes consolation for his own time in Henryson's attacks on medieval and perennial abuses, and indulges in sentimental moments the unhistorical hope that Henryson today would be on the right (that is, the left) side of the barricades. But he also believes that the only control we have over literary sociology is formal criticism and a strict use of the canons of literary history. Perhaps I may speak less *ex cathedra* and more personally to Stearns if I admit that I share with infinitely less expertness another of his enthusiasms, that for hot jazz and its distinguished Negro interpreters. We might draw a parable from one of the best of these interpreters, Bessie Smith. The individuality of her performance of the "Empty Bed Blues" rests not in the social tradition or the erotic commonplace which lies behind the song, or the pathetic story of her death, but in the formal control of her powerful and flexible voice, the strength of her structural repetition and feeling for climax, and the meaningful duel she plays with Charlie Green's brilliant trombone. Stearns might meet with me here. Our transposition of the past to the present, of the creative to the judicial, lies in some such approach, and not in a well-meant desire to make a great and neglected Scottish poet speak with the voice of our present ideologies.

FRANCIS LEE UTLEY

Ohio State University

A REPLY TO MR. UTLEY

The topic sentence of Mr. Utley's review is: "the book abounds in errors—of biography, history, source-study, and the projection of milieu," but his remarks are entirely devoted to matters of interpretation, not of fact. The unstated assumption upon which he bases his criticism, if I understand him correctly, is that if an analogy to a pattern, theme, or attitude in an author's work can be found among his predecessors, then the author is employing it mechanically and meaninglessly. Such a formalistic approach has its limitations.

I do not mean, however, to urge an entirely individualized approach, but to suggest a middle ground. The simplest literary pattern cannot stay alive under its own momentum, for no poet employs patterns that have no meaning for himself or his audience. Literature is created by men reacting to life, not scholars reacting to analogues. And this fact points a pitfall which contemporary criticism, as well as academic scholarship, has not entirely avoided—the Jungian notion that all literature consists in the repetition of rituals and myths, and that research consists in establishing these parallels.

Mr. Utley proceeds to take up the four points listed in his topic sentence. To document the "errors" in biography, he adds two more reasons to support my conclusion that the Kinaston anecdote is open to doubt, and asserts that I am "somewhat uncritical" about two documents that I simply present in my exposition of the "recorded facts and conjectures concerning Henryson's life." That is all.

As for the "errors" in history, Mr. Utley raises no questions of fact. His only objection is that he, himself, is not entirely convinced by my interpretation of the poet's allusions to the contemporary scene. He declares that there is no positive proof, that the various situations are by no means unique, and that "possibility and certitude are different things." I am sure that no one will disagree with these observations. The difference between us here is one of disposition and perhaps digestion, not of fact, and if our understanding of early authors were hedged about by the proof positive that Mr. Utley demands, few of them could be enjoyed.

By way of pointing out the "errors" in the use of source material, Mr. Utley simply calls for "an exhaustive study of the relationship of 'Aesop,' the Isopets, and the beast epic," as well as a "full-scale hunt through French and Latin literature." These projects are admirable, but they were also beyond the range of my objective—stated in the preface—"to clear the way for a better understanding and appreciation of the poet and his poetry." Mr. Utley is clearly better equipped than I for this type of study, and his suggestions here constitute a valuable contribution to the further study of Henryson.

More specifically, Mr. Utley's point that "Chaucer's *Parliament* is as obvious a source as the *Nun's Priest's Tale*" for Henryson's *The Cock and the Fox* is well taken, although I cannot concur with his further statement that Chaucer's pose in regard to courtly love is "notoriously similar to Henryson's." I also disagree with Mr. Utley's more general assumption that, because there are other examples of satire on the abuse of the confessional and the more general abuses of the age, Henryson's comments are of little value. This is not to say, however, that a careful comparison of all such comments would not be a worthwhile undertaking.

Mr. Utley is most concerned with my "projection of milieu," and is apparently convinced that I am trying to prove Henryson a modern radical, speaking "with

the voice of our present ideologies." Aside from the irrelevance of such a thesis, the fact that this echo of current hysteria finds its way into a scholarly review is unfortunate. (Parenthetically, it is Mr. Utley who speaks of the "proletariat" when, I presume, he means the peasantry; there was no proletariat in the poet's day.) I refer to Henryson as a humanitarian, in the broadest sense of the word, associating the poet with a point of view that is found from Greco-Roman times to the present day. Nor does the fact that some of Henryson's contemporaries shared various aspects of his attitude detract from this humanitarianism.

I might add that Mr. Utley's excursion into jazz criticism, with the rather condescending designation of Bessie Smith as a "distinguished Negro," is rather inept. As an example of the irrelevance of the "social tradition" and the importance of the "formal" aspects of her art, he cites a late recording, "Empty Bed Blues," the salacious lyrics of which were intentionally composed to sell to "white folks." Slightly earlier recordings, such as "Jail House Blues," "Hard Times Blues," and "Homeless Blues" illustrate more clearly the crucial mistake of separating form from content. But to ignore the early signs of decadence in the lyrics of "Empty Bed Blues" and to emphasize only the "formal control" of the voice is to limit understanding radically and to work with critical criteria in a vacuum. Here the formalistic approach is self-destructive.

MARSHALL W. STEARNS

Hunter College

The Populace in Shakespeare. By BRENTS STIRLING. New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. Pp. 203. \$3.00.

Professor Stirling's *The Populace in Shakespeare* begins with a chapter called "Literature and Society: Some Current Problems." Here he undertakes to review certain theories of poetry and of the function of scholarship in order to define his own approach to the study of the political questions raised by the study of the Cade scenes in the second part of *Henry VI* and by *Julius Caesar* and *Coriolanus*. The very subject of the study, as Professor Stirling observes, makes a modern scholar peculiarly conscious of his own assumptions. Many students of Shakespeare are rather anxiously led to ask of the plays themselves, "What, after all, are Shakespeare's politics?" And immediately an answer begins to frame itself and other questions arise, questions about the differences between plays and treatises, for example. And so, from the beginning, Professor Stirling finds himself facing these questions before he is free to approach the subject described in the title.

After his discussion of certain theoretical problems, the writer singles out those scenes in Shakespeare which are most pertinent to his subject; he then reviews the responses these scenes have drawn from Hazlitt, Whitman, and Brandes, among others, and from some Marxists, in order to show the need for still another interpretation of the significance Shakespeare gives the populace. In doing this Professor Stirling is continuing the speculation of his introductory chapter and is carrying on a twofold study, examining it and justifying the method which he is employing even while applying it.

Professor Stirling does not attempt to relate the political ideas he discovers in Shakespeare to the form and structure of the plays. For him a study of the populace in Shakespeare becomes a study of certain ideas expressed in certain

scenes and a study of the significance of those ideas to the audience for whom the play was written. After describing the substance of a few important scenes, Professor Stirling goes on to illustrate some of the political notions current in Shakespeare's society, quoting from pamphlets that summon up Jack Cade's ghost to be a warning to the times, from the Marprelate debates, from the arguments over the Anabaptists, from Hooker's writings, and from many others. Through these quotations Professor Stirling is able to show that some part of the political unrest of Shakespeare's time was, generally speaking, of the quality and kind illustrated in the plays. He is not anxious to claim that the crowd scenes of *Julius Caesar* or of *Coriolanus* have specific analogies in the life of England in the years in which these plays were first produced; he means only to discover, through the illustration of unrest, "one of the main explanations of Elizabethan mob scenes in the theater." Various writings of the time of the production of *Coriolanus*, for example, lead him to conclude: "The acuteness of the enclosure problem, the resultant hunger and deprivation, and the ensuing riots which produced responses such as those of the Venetian envoy and of Wilkinson—all these factors contribute to an attitude of receptivity for such a play."

In this kind of study Professor Stirling does not try to define Shakespeare's own political convictions, but his final chapter, opposing certain theories of Bernard De Voto and some others, justifies what are taken to be the pessimistic values of the Shakespearean mob-scenes: "when viewed historically much of the best literature has expressed and channeled the social elements of negation which the critics mentioned have found alarming." "The social reality," reflected in these scenes, is "the reality, not of literal conditions, but of an influential mythology."

If the use of "historical patterns" is to be justified as a form of literary criticism, I think a more strictly philosophical argument is needed. In this respect Professor Stirling's work compares with that of many contemporary scholars whose contributions are chiefly to social or cultural history. Professor Stirling hopes, I think, to resolve the problem of the relation of cultural history to literary criticism, at least in his special study of Shakespeare, but in his description of current critical discussions and in his own study of Shakespeare he seems to accept the idea that the writing of cultural history is the equivalent of literary criticism. This solution encourages oversights that one may illustrate.

Among the many judicious observations that Professor Stirling makes in the course of his study is one, for example, that is quite important to any study of *Coriolanus*, where he points out the role of the tribunes in exciting the crowds against Coriolanus. But an older style of literary criticism would have added still another in analyzing the subject that gives the title to Professor Stirling's book. The idea goes back at least as far as Bradley, that Coriolanus is a man of almost saintly truth, and his constancy to himself, twice a traitor and never a traitor, involves values that help define the quality of the crowd's inconstancy.

At another place Professor Stirling writes interestingly about Iden in *Henry VI*. But I think it is also to be remarked that the character of Cade and his followers is developed not merely in contrast with Iden or with the court's corruption, but is to be most seriously illustrated by the religiousness of Henry's actions and the subtlety of his conscience.

These are matters that a study of contemporary history does not sufficiently illustrate, nor even the authority of an "influential mythology." Professor

Stirling's analysis of the plays, admittedly dependent on a certain theory, reveals, I think, the limitations of the theory. My own belief is that the theory would find its best support in a rigorous materialism; lacking that, it seems to me to be of only minor service to literary criticism. Its chief value must ordinarily be for the writing of social history.

JOHN ARTHOS

University of Michigan

Millennium and Utopia: A Study in the Background of the Idea of Progress.
By ERNEST LEE TUVESEN. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949. Pp. xi + 254. \$3.50.

The stated purpose of Professor Tuveson's book is to show "that the metaphysical, almost sacred character of the dogma of unilinear progress was connected with a faith in progressive redemption through temporal history." It thus takes its place among the volumes by Thonissen, Delvaille, Bury, Lovejoy, Whitney, *et al.*, which have explored the source and history of this theory so challengingly asserted as late as two world wars ago.

Professor Tuveson's contention is that the doctrine of progress is not exclusively the consequence of the scientific and technological advances of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; that, indeed, the concept pervaded Christian thought both in the era of primitive Christianity and throughout the Middle Ages; and that, when understanding of natural process and control of natural forces made possible an amelioration of the conditions of mundane existence, Christian writers were not inconsistent in visualizing that amelioration as a necessary stage in the unfolding of God's long-term plan. He therefore believes that "the conclusion of Bury, that the conditions favorable to the progressivist dogma are not to be found before the sixteenth century, must be modified. But modified, not rejected entirely, for the Christian idea contains elements alien to the idea of secular progress as we have come to know it." Certainly not rejected, for he has already noted that the early Christian belief in a millennium yet to come had been virtually extinct for more than a thousand years.

It is significant that the idea was revived at precisely that time when the authoritarian grips of church and state were being loosened, when the rise to power of the middle class was being tremendously accelerated, when land values were being increasingly superseded by money values, when new methods of production and improved methods of transportation were readying a change not only in the social but equally in the philosophic scene.

An important objection to this book—or, rather, to this kind of book—is implicit in the preceding paragraph. A distortion similar to that discoverable in Carlylean history is involved when undue emphasis is placed upon the transmission of ideas from philosopher to philosopher. The belief in a millennium had been extinct, it is said, for over a thousand years. Perhaps, as an official doctrine among theologians, it had been. But among the rebels and dissidents, the non-professional philosophers of the lower levels, it had never died. And it is not dead now, despite the popularity, in circumscribed intellectual circles, of Mr. Eliot's negativism, on whose note of dubiety Professor Tuveson closes his book. The aging-eagle's-eye view needs to be corrected by the worm's-eye view. We need to consider not only the Cambridge Platonists but also the Diggers and

Levelers. It can certainly be argued that ideas of progress emerge not because a philosophizing minority study history, but because an exploited majority are in process of winning freedom and wealth. (Conversely, it may be argued that ideas of primitivism emerge because from the acquisition and maintenance of freedom and wealth ensue the most exacting responsibilities and because the means by which freedom and wealth are won produce dislocations and inequities in society of the most terrifying complexity.)

Professor Tuveson uses R. S. Crane as a strawman when he advances his idea "that the religious background of the idea of progress is far more important than has hitherto been thought." Examination of Professor Crane's article ("Anglican Apologetics and the Idea of Progress, 1699-1745," *Modern Philology*, XXXI) does not reveal that he was unaware of that religious background to the degree implied in the present book.

There is a great deal of interesting information in this study. And the book marches. Regardless of its narrowness of focus, it is a valuable contribution to the literature of this extremely significant subject.

CLARK EMERY

University of Miami

Byron, Hobhouse, and Foscolo: New Documents in the History of a Collaboration. By E. R. VINCENT. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1949. Pp. x + 135. \$2.75.

Drawing upon important unpublished documents, Professor Vincent tells the little-known story of a strange three-way collaboration—that of John Cam Hobhouse with Byron and of the Italian poet Foscolo with Hobhouse—over the Fourth Canto of *Childe Harold*. Essentially unlike as poets and craftsmen, Byron and Ugo Foscolo possessed striking similarities. Both exiles, one had left England to live in Italy and die in Greece; the other, born in Greece, lived in Italy and died in England. They were nearest to each other in their powers of satire and invective. But Foscolo's classical taste and refined artistic sense was in sharp contrast to the romantic vehemence and bravura of Byron in *Childe Harold*. Hobhouse was the intermediary who brought these two men of genius into a curious collaboration the existence of which Byron only suspected and Foscolo deliberately denied. Paradoxically, the two men never met.

Feeling that the Italian subject matter of the Fourth Canto of *Childe Harold* needed fuller exposition than he could give in the poem itself, Byron turned to Hobhouse for the expository notes. These Hobhouse wrote during his visit with Byron in Italy from the summer of 1817 to February, 1818. But Hobhouse's *Historical Illustrations of the Fourth Canto of Childe Harold* needed a treatise on Italian literature, and this neither Byron nor Hobhouse felt qualified to undertake. Fortunately, Hobhouse met at this time Ugo Foscolo, an Italian poet living in exile in England, and this dashing, romantic, versatile, hot-headed patriot and political exile, indigent and needy as he was erudite and brilliant, was the answer to Hobhouse's dilemma. Within a month's time Foscolo produced the *Essay on the Present Literature of Italy*, consisting of biographical-critical sketches of six prominent contemporary Italian writers, Cesarotti, Parini, Alfieri, Pindemonte, Monti, and Foscolo. The *Essay* was published with the Fourth Canto of *Childe Harold* without mention of Foscolo's name as the

author—a gentlemen's agreement between Hobhouse and Foscolo with no deceit intended. But as soon as the *Illustrations* with the *Essay* appeared in Italy, the authorship of the brilliant sketches of contemporary Italian authors was surmised. Di Breme, a prominent writer omitted from mention in the *Essay*, promptly attacked Byron, Hobhouse, and Foscolo as conspirators. Byron fanned the flames of controversy with malicious glee. Hobhouse, in his lengthy reply to Di Breme, evaded the issue, neither claiming sole authorship nor stating that Foscolo had no part in the work. And Foscolo made matters worse by deliberately denying, in a letter to his friend Silvio Pellico, any share in the authorship of the *Essay*.

Further collaboration between Hobhouse and Foscolo on a business basis brought about the deterioration of their friendly relationship. By December, 1818, Hobhouse was obliged to confide to his journal, "The fellow thinks I am in his power because he helped me with his damned essay which I always wished at the bottom of the sea since it has brought me attacks . . . besides, what is worse, praises where I do not deserve them . . ." Hobhouse insisted the Italian poet's authorship must be revealed, and Foscolo as stubbornly refused. By 1824 Hobhouse had risen to wealth and fame, while Foscolo had sunk into penury and oblivion. By 1827, three years after Byron's death, the exiled Italian poet was dead. Thirty-two years later, in 1859, Hobhouse made a last statement regarding the *Essay*, saying that "The materials for the foregoing *Essay* were furnished to me by an Italian exile, whose assistance I could not avow without compromising him with his fellow-countrymen . . . The critical judgments were from my friend; the language and adaptation to English literature were, of course, my own." As Professor Vincent concludes, "So even then the full revelation was not made and the name of Ugo Foscolo remained undisclosed."

Professor Vincent's sources include Foscolo's papers, normally in the Labronica Library at Leghorn but now undergoing restoration and rearrangement at the Istituto di Patologia del Libro at Rome; the Broughton Papers in the British Museum; Hobhouse's diaries and letters for the years concerned in the family archives at Monkton Farleigh Manor, Bradford-on-Avon, Wiltshire; and manuscript letters written by Hobhouse to Byron belonging to Sir John Murray. All Foscolo's letters are in French as are many of Hobhouse's replies. Professor Vincent has wisely allowed these documents to speak for themselves, filling out the absorbing story with a minimum of narrative.

The result is a volume that not only throws new light on some little-known aspects of the always fascinating life of Byron, but also produces for the first time a vivid portrait of Ugo Foscolo. We may now look forward with anticipation to Professor Vincent's forthcoming work, *Ugo Foscolo in English Society*, as a long overdue tribute to that romantic-pathetic-amusing Italian genius in exile.

PAUL GRAHAM TRUEBLOOD

University of Washington

Gerhart Hauptmann und Goethe. By SIEGFRIED H. MULLER. Gerhart Hauptmann Schriften, Band 5. Goslar: Volksbücherei-Verlag, 1950. Pp. 112. \$1.50. Distributed in U.S.A. by Stechert-Hafner.

In his preface Professor Muller says that this work is merely a reworking of the English edition in German. Since the original edition is not available to me at the moment, I am unable to determine just how many of the suggestions, attributed to C. F. W. Behl and F. A. Voigt, have been incorporated into this text. For a pre-history of the series and an evaluation of the English, one may compare the understanding and kindly review by Professor Walter Reichart in *MLQ*, XI (December, 1950), 510-11.

Professor Reichart quite rightly points out that this is, after all, a dissertation and must by its very nature be a thoroughly documented investigation. The German version, too, suffers under the same burden of careful attention to detail which is hardly avoidable. The stain of a thesis is seldom removed by any form of revision, no matter how thorough.

The scope of Professor Muller's plan would actually demand the joint efforts of a trained Goethe scholar and a trained Hauptmann scholar to achieve any kind of completeness. It should be said, however, that this work represents a firm step forward toward recognition of the problem. Throughout his life Hauptmann's creative efforts have been derivative to a surprising degree: that is to say, their origins are immediately apparent. In some cases, as in *Das Märchen*, the author even labels his source. One of the most fruitful veins he has tapped stems from Goethe, and hence there is abundant justification for this study.

Up to now the majority of Hauptmann scholarship has been divided into two camps: the one condemns him as something unfit for literary consideration, and the other interprets every clinker as a milestone in his total achievement. Usually the most productive ideas arise from labors of love, so the latter group can hardly be rejected. But with Hauptmann as a case in point, it seems hardly justifiable to assign any sort of stylistic merit to *Das Abenteuer meiner Jugend*; furthermore, if the author finds it necessary to make certain literary evaluations, as he does in comparing Hauptmann's autobiography with Goethe's *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, he should endeavor to make his position as unambiguous as possible. Muller merely says the one is "less stylized" than the other (p. 69). The "greater continuity" attributed to Hauptmann is a gratuitous judgment, based simply on factual sequence, but has little to do with the larger and more important problem of the intellectual development. The same might be said of *Griechischer Frühling* and even *Buch der Leidenschaft*: they are important documents for the understanding of the author's intellectual and social history but surely they take a second rank as literature.

An examination of the Goethe echoes listed in the text and the appendix shows that his intimate acquaintance is confined largely to *Faust*, *Wilhelm Meister*, the standard poems, and of course *Das Märchen*. Therefore, I would tend to agree with Hauptmann, when he asserts that he never made Goethe "das Object eines Studiums," instead of regarding it as a "bescheidene Selbstunterschätzung" (p. 19). Of course, he knew more than the average layman, but so do most authors with respect to the literature of their own language.

There are many cases where Professor Muller has quoted a platitudinous remarks of Hauptmann's—and the latter's lack of precision has been pointed out in a very pedestrian manner by Walzel—without manifesting a critical attitude. For example, Hauptmann denied the dramatic quality of *Faust* and then ex-

plained by saying: "daß nicht jeder große Dichter auch ein guter Dramatiker sein müsse" (p. 27). Such a colorless and even meaningless statement, if mentioned at all, should elicit comment.

Typographically the text is fairly clean with the most disturbing element in the fourth line of the first page: "fruchtgebärend." I was not quite sure what English word was being translated but hoped secretly that this coinage would remain a *hafax legomenon*. Page 34, line 20, prints "seit" for "sein"; line 28 should read "Homunculusidee"; page 82, line 10, is mixed up in grammar and should read "kann"; line 31 has omitted a "t" in "tatsächliches." Otherwise there is little to criticize. Professor Reichart's review must have arrived in time for the author to change over his references to *Das gesammelte Werk*, which made checking much easier.

Nearly everyone looks back on his dissertation with a great deal of pride and not a little bit of shame. Professor Muller can be proud that he has made a genuine contribution to Hauptmann scholarship. His shame is that shared by all young scholars, who feel themselves inadequate, by virtue of inexperience, to do a thorough job on an ambitious project.

GEORGE C. BUCK

University of Washington

Einführung in die Poetik. VON JOSEF KÖRNER. Frankfurt a. M.: Verlag G. Schulte-Bulmke, 1949. Pp. 60. D.M. 2.50.

Diese Veröffentlichung, eine der letzten des großen, uns allzu früh entrissenen Prager Gelehrten, erläutert die Hauptbegriffe der Poetik mittels prägnanter Definitionen und treffender Beispiele in der Art eines Studienhelfers für Anfänger.

Teil I (Stilistik) behandelt die Bilder und Figuren: Schmückendes Beiwort, Metonymie und Metapher, Vergleich und Gleichnis, Hyperbel, Personifikation, Wortspiel, Lautmalerei, Emphase, Antithese. Teil II (Prosodik) bringt die obligate Unterscheidung zwischen Vers- und Prosarhythmus, gliedert die Schallform in ihre Bestandteile (Rhythmus, Sprechmelodie, Klangart, Sprechweise, Versschmuck) und bespricht die wichtigsten Vers- und Strophenformen. Teil III ist den literarischen Gattungsbegriffen gewidmet. Den Abschluß bildet eine treffliche Kurzbibliographie.

Während der erste Teil die Problemstellung der neueren Stilforschung tunlichst ignoriert und sich, wohl aus Raumangel, auf den Begriffsapparat der antiken Rhetorik beschränkt, trägt die verskundliche Erörterung den modernen Methoden Rechnung. Die Schallanalyse Sieversscher Observanz wird allerdings nur bibliographisch berücksichtigt.

Dem Studierenden kann das Büchlein als Führer zu den einschlägigen Artikeln bei Merker-Stammler und den umfangreicher Standardwerken der Stilistik, Verswissenschaft und Gattungspoetik gute Dienste leisten. In Anbetracht des geringen Anschaffungspreises empfiehlt es sich besonders zur Benutzung im Unterricht.

FRANZ RENÉ SOMMERFELD

University of Washington

A Tentative Bibliography. By B. TRNKA. Publication of the Committee on Linguistic Statistics under the sponsorship of UNESCO. Utrecht and Brussels: Spectrum Publishers, 1950. Pp. 22.

This brief bibliography is a special publication of the International Permanent Committee of Linguists. Its task is to list all known publications dealing with statistical aspects of linguistic study. The fact that less than 200 titles are given is rather indicative of the prevailing need for such work, although this list, which will probably be followed by others, is not very exhaustive.

The hopes and aspirations of the Committee, as well as its difficulties, are outlined in an introduction by Marcel Cohen, who quite correctly points out the value of statistical methods for the solution of various linguistic problems, as well as for the broadening of a relatively unexplored field of knowledge. A number of people in the United States have already made some use of statistical linguistics as a preliminary step to improved teaching or as an important adjunct to social studies. While the basis of linguistic theory is still being improved by such scientific observations, "applied linguistics" has been the chief beneficiary. Another field which profits from the statistical approach to language is cryptanalysis—as has been pointed out by Paul Menzerath (whose very valuable work in language typology, incidentally, is not mentioned in the bibliography). Still other applications could be cited, and more will surely be discovered. The important thing now is the fact that such an international bibliography exists, and it is to be hoped that the obvious shortcomings of the first list will be overcome in subsequent issues. M. Cohen's appeal for the help of other contributors, therefore, should be heeded by linguists everywhere.

CARROLL E. REED

University of Washington

A REPLY TO MR. HARVEY

The ways of scholarship are slow. In 1945 I completed the writing of *Edouard Estourné, the Perplexed Positivist*; in December, 1949, the *Modern Language Quarterly* published a review of my study, by Mr. Edward Harvey; and now in December, 1951, I submit a review of Mr. Harvey's review.

Reviews of reviews are usually futile, but one in this case might be justified since Mr. Harvey's dealt most specifically with his own findings. In this he did no disservice to Estourné, but since the facts leave room for more than one interpretation, it would seem to be the interest of all concerned to examine them from another angle.

Mr. Harvey has every right to be proud of the bibliography he has so laboriously constructed, and since 1945—since the war—he has unearthed certain documents and facts of direct bearing on one of the facets of my study.

In his review, confining himself to this facet, he emphasizes, aside from certain arbitrary matters, three things: (1) that Estourné had no high regard for Loyola's *Exercises* and especially for Barrès's use of them in *Un Homme Libre* and therefore could not possibly have adapted them to his own work; (2) that Estourné died a Catholic; and consequently, (3) that Estourné is still to be classed simply as a naturalist who acknowledged Balzac, Flaubert, and Zola as his masters. Mr. Harvey makes no attempt to explain the paradox in the implications of the first two items.

In drawing attention to what might be considered non sequiturs in Mr. Harvey's reasoning, I am in danger, of course, of being pushed to the extreme of defending the contention that Estaunié did use Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* as a master plan for his own work. It was an idea that occurred to me after my study was almost in final form. I considered relegating it to the footnotes or omitting it entirely. Finally I added it to the main body of my work—simply by inserting a half-dozen sheets in the original manuscript—because I felt it was an interesting and plausible idea neither proved nor disproved by the facts at my disposal. As far as I am concerned, it is still an interesting idea—still not disproved even by the facts at Mr. Harvey's disposal. Indeed, on the contrary, his discovery in the *Gazette Diplomatique* could be viewed as evidence on the "proved" side, for now we know that Estaunié had studied Barrès's use and even ventured to analyze why *Un Homme Libre* turned out to be "disgusting and slightly ridiculous." But just because Estaunié considered Barrès incompetent in his use of the *Exercises* (since as the former explained, Barrès replaced the key to their success—"l'altruisme"—by "l'égoïsme, et la divinisation du moi"), does it follow that Estaunié would not have used the *Exercises* in his own works? And surely the very fact that he viewed Loyola's work with no religious awe would make it that much easier and more plausible for him to adapt it to profane subjects.

In his review Mr. Harvey wonders if I did not know that Estaunié died a Catholic. (I am surprised that he could have forgotten the long conversation we had on the subject.) The news came after my study was completed, and it was gratifying, for it seemed to prove that I had proceeded in the right direction. Estaunié had always been considered something of an iconoclast, and the most that could be said was that there existed a "hiatus" between him and God. His works taken as a whole never prove that he bridged this gap, although, as my study emphasizes, from his second book, *Bonne-Dame*, he consistently shows respect for those who believe.

In trying to establish the date of Estaunié's first preoccupation with miracles, "Pages Roumaines" and even "Une Nuit de noce" should not be overlooked. I think it can be proved that 1937, the date Mr. Harvey gives "Une Sainte au fond de son couvent," is not the earliest. In fact, a good case could be made to show that miracles preoccupied him from the very beginning. Obviously, Estaunié's death in the arms of the Church was not the result of a death-bed conversion, nor even of a conversion five years before his death. It was the logical consequence of his background and the probity of his intellect. Much is still to be written concerning the relationship of Estaunié and the Church, but only by going counter to the express wish of his widow. Little is to be gained by outraging sensibilities. Nevertheless, it might be pointed out that the paradox created in Mr. Harvey's review by juxtaposing statements of Estaunié's contempt for that revered document of the Church—Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*—and of his death as a Catholic need not exist if the former is related to style and the latter to content.

I quite agree with Mr. Harvey that Estaunié's style is that of a naturalist, and I know of no one who tries to say otherwise. Also, contrary to the impression I seem to have given Mr. Harvey, I am not one of those who consider that to call a man a naturalist is to stigmatize him. However, I do submit that the label "naturalist" is not sufficient to explain the dynamic power of Estaunié's works. The crux of the problem is what constitutes this dynamic power. I suggested that the answer might be found in the recognized dynamic power of the *Spiritual*

Exercises. Mr. Harvey thinks not. He is content with the label "naturalist." But this contentment, I maintain, does not answer the fundamental question. Let us hope that continued painstaking research will shed the additional light we need in order to know how to interpret the findings we have. For instance, just how much significance should be attached to Estaunié's phrase "Ayant arrêté une idée générale" contained in the excerpt of the article Mr. Harvey found in *La Revue des Visages*? Mr. Harvey gave it none, but someone trying to establish that Estaunié did have a master plan for the production of his works might conceivably use it as the basis for the entire structure of the argument.

Nor do the established dates of a group of short stories necessarily explode the theory, for there are still to be explained the other two books—*Madame Clapain* and *Le Labyrinthe*.

The controversies Estaunié presents are far from resolved. They are profound and challenging. So may the lists be entered and the tilts begun!

RUTH CARTER HOK

Ann Arbor, Michigan

A Critical Bibliography of the Published Writings of Romain Rolland. By WILLIAM THOMAS STARR. Evanston: Northwestern University Studies, Humanities Series No. 21, 1950. Pp. xxiii + 138. \$3.50.

Students of twentieth-century French literature and of Romain Rolland in particular will be grateful to Mr. Starr for this painstaking bibliography, which includes works both by and about Rolland. Most of the listings are accompanied by brief but very helpful critical remarks. The only article of any significance which I miss is G. Sadoul's review of *Robespierre* (*L'Humanité*, 3 juin 1939), which was perhaps the earliest review of that play.

The bibliographical sections of the book are preceded by an introduction which presents a well-rounded survey of Rolland studies and is highly stimulating in its suggestions of work yet to be done. This essay is one of the finest yet to appear in the growing "état présent" genre.

Mr. Starr wisely suggests that Rolland's impact on countries of the Orient would be fruitful to investigate. Surely a study of the numerous articles on Rolland published in Japan, for example, where Rolland has had a great vogue, would advance the understanding of Rolland as a writer of world-wide influence. The same might be said of other countries; and from that standpoint Mr. Starr's bibliography, which is largely (but not entirely) limited to the languages of western Europe, remains to be completed. But that will come as the studies themselves proceed. By making available this bibliography and the suggestive introduction, Mr. Starr will have made an important contribution to the volume and the quality of work on Rolland, both scholarly and critical.

A. C. KELLER

University of Washington

La Correspondence de Marcel Proust: Chronologie et Commentaire Critique. By PHILIP KOLB. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1949. Pp. xiv + 464. \$4.00, paper; \$5.00, cloth.

Marcel Proust's casualness with respect to dates has led to confusion and uncertainty in the publication of his correspondence and to difficulties in the

interpretation of the biographical data for which the letters are the best or even the only source. The present text is the fruit of several years of labor in untangling the chronology of the letters on the basis, largely, of internal evidence. Mr. Kolb's purpose, as stated in his introduction, is to present "l'esquisse d'une édition critique des lettres de Proust, établissant la chronologie de toutes les lettres publiées auxquelles j'ai pu assigner une date, et apportant l'explication d'allusions obscures."

The main body of the book consists of an examination of the principal published collections of the correspondence beginning with the six tomes of the *Correspondance Générale*, followed by tomes IV, V, and VI of the *Cahiers Marcel Proust*, and some thirty smaller collections. Taking each *recueil* (or tome) in turn, Mr. Kolb brings together all letters addressed to the same person and lists them chronologically, giving for each letter the addressee, the number it bears in the published collection, the tome and page where it is found, the date of the letter, and a discussion of the evidence which led to the assigning of the date. Letters for which a date is already established or for which no date could be determined are not listed in this section.

The usefulness of the volume is increased by an elaborate series of lists and indexes which includes a bibliography of the correspondence, a general onomastic index to it, a list of Proust's correspondents, a chronological list of all the letters, and an index listing the letters in the order in which they appear in the several collections, with their dates and a reference to the place in the present volume where each is discussed. From this index it is possible to tell at a glance which letters have been dated and which have not.

Mr. Kolb's book should prove a valuable guide to Proust's voluminous correspondence, not only because of its careful and often ingenious dating of the letters, but also through the frequent elucidation of more or less obscure allusions which occur in them. Mr. Kolb lays no claim to definitiveness, but although it is possible that further study may reveal errors in detail or bring precision to questions still unresolved, it is unlikely that his results as a whole will be disproved.

A. E. CREORE

University of Washington

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